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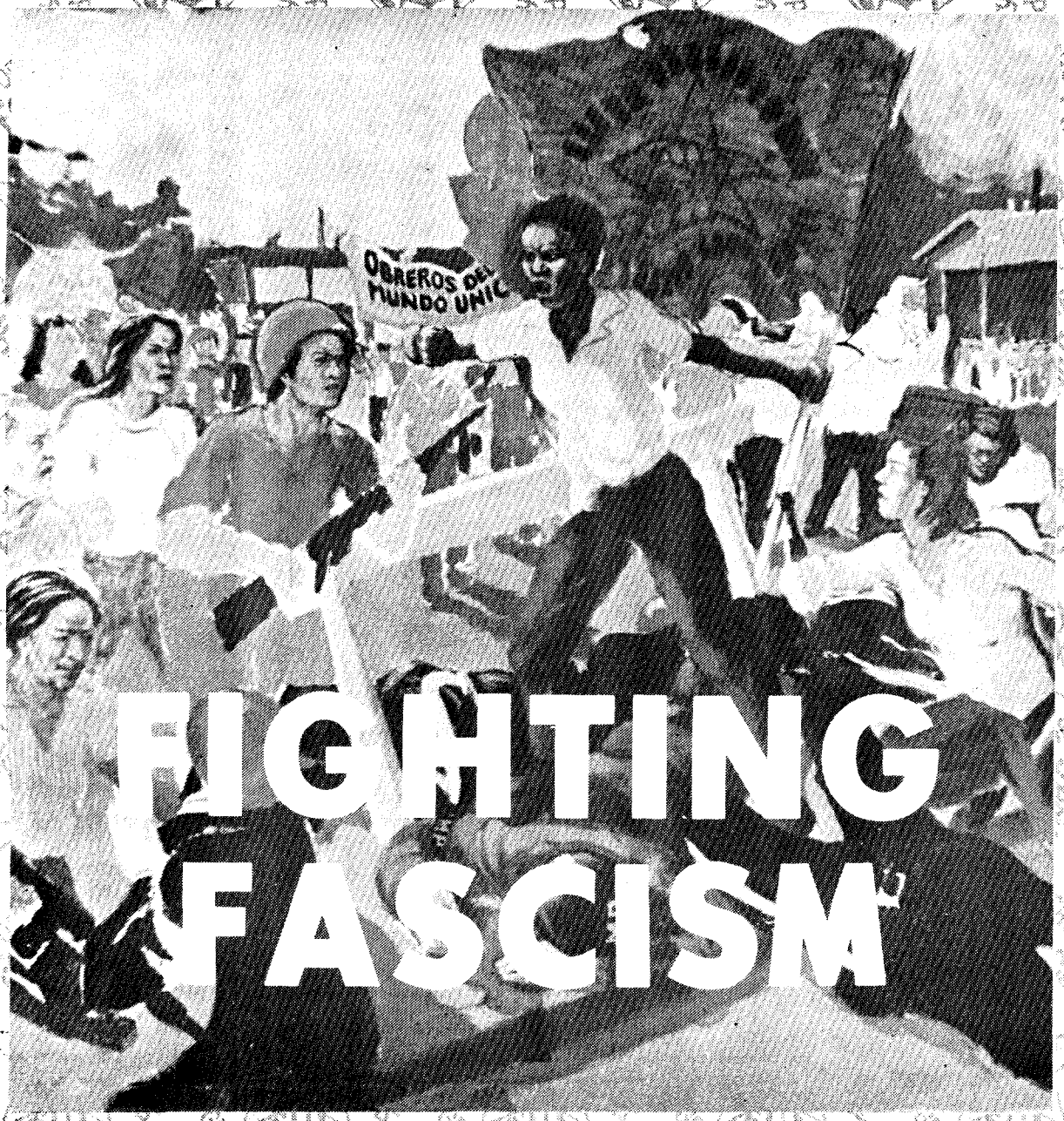


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PL

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# notes & comments & notes & comments & notes

## MORE COMMENTS ON FASCISM

To the Editor:

There were two letters in the December 1975 issue of PL Magazine concerning the topic of fascism which I consider worth writing about. Both authors seem to feel that the PLP does not have a very good definition of fascism, somewhat implying that we don't know what we are talking about when the Party says fascism is on the rise in the U.S.A. For example, the first letter says, "The point is that the term fascism should not be used loosely, but should be given a more definite social content. . . . The question is not one of semantics, for the different forms of bourgeois rule determine to a great extent of communist organizing tactics."

In the second letter, "A Comment on Boston Busing and Fascism," the writer states, "We need to explain that the Hicks-Kerrigan klan and the Kennedy klan are **strategically** on the same side—that they both work for the ruling class—while **tactically** they are often quite different." It seems the ideas of these writers correspond very much with the ideas of many other friends and members of our Party—that is that fascism is something that happened **then** (in the '30s and '40s) and can't happen again (or never happened before) unless the same exact conditions are present. The fact is, we are in the opening stages of fascism in this country, and no difference from thirty years ago, nor even that some little runt like Hitler is not fronting it, is going to make it not true.

The fact is, there are not two different kinds of bosses (liberal versus fascist, as one of the correspondents would have us say): there is only one kind—a boss. There are not two totally separate forms of bourgeois rule (bourgeois democracy versus fascism): there is only one form of bourgeois rule: dictatorship of the ruling class.

Now a lot of people are going to say, "That's horrible, vulgar Marxism not to recognize these differences." Of course there are differences, but the point is that we are never in a system of 100 percent democracy. In every situation the ruling class finds itself in, it has two main choices of how to act: in a bourgeois democratic way, or in a fascistic way. Anything the bosses do which is not "democratic" is fascistic. Generally speaking, the harder we, the working class, fight for our demands the more often the bosses have to look for the fascist way out.

For example, in a national strike situation the first tactic of the bosses is going to be to issue an injunction or use the union misleaders to sell the strike out. These are bourgeois democratic forms of rule, which are just as stacked against the workers as are the fascist methods. If the injunction or the sellout fails, then watch out! Because the Dr. Jekyll mask is coming off, and the Mr. Hyde face of fascism is on the rise. At this point, the bosses will use the cops, professional strikebreakers . . . killers, intensive racist attacks, the army—whatever is necessary to regain control of that part of the state which the striking workers have taken control of.

The point is, that fascism is always present in our system, though many times the predominant aspect is for democracy. If you don't believe this, try going on strike, look at the number of communists in the PLP fired in the past years for putting forward communist ideas, check out the life in the black and Latin ghettoes in the country. When the government attacks a group of fireign workers and deports them, **that's fascism,** no two ways about it.

Now, like I said, in the "good times," the ruling class can rely on the democratic forms of governmernt to keep the cards stacked against the workers. But there is always present a ripple, a small aspect of fascism in the system. What we in the Party are saying is that this ripple is turning into a river, and heading in the direction of becoming the main method used by the ruling class to push the working class around.

I would say that this phenomenon was in the making in the United States shortly after the First World War, with the Palmer raids, attacks on foreign born workers, the immigration quota laws, and the legal lynching of Sacco and Vanzetti, among others. Although a complete analysis of this process is not possible at this moment, it would appear that the ruling class, during the depression, lost the battle to win over the masses of workers to the Communists in the CP at the time (as well as the mass movements led by them against the depression), and thus had to give up their desires for the time being.

Had not the Communist Party in the thirties (under the leadership of the Communist International) not engaged in these fights, George Wallace's great desire to have fought on the Nazi Germany side during World War II might have come to pass. (This is, by the way, a clear example of how the masses make history.) There are, in addition, indications that at the war's end, if FDR had survived, the ruling class had planned on instituting fascism on the basis of the nation's "loyalty" to Roosevelt (which the CPUSA had encouraged with their wartime program). Unfortunately for them, Roosevelt was recalled.

Anyway, fascism is not new to the United States. We've approached it at home at least once. Now we're approaching it again. This time, however, we're not as strong. The main thing we lack is a communist international with a socialist country as its base. This makes our task even more urgent. The CPUSA during the '30s had this international to help it overcome some of the idological barriers that stood in the way of waging the fight against fascism and the worldwide economic depression.

At this time we do not have such strong support towards the development of a communist, working class, fighting strategy. What this means is that we have to look at the coming fascism straight in the eye and start to fight it now. We can't stop the fight by noticing that one of the monster's teeth are missing, and surmising that perhaps this really **isn't** a monster. Times have changed, and so have some forms of the monster.

The last point I'd like to address is just a small comment made by the writer of the first letter. He makes the point that ". . . the different forms of bourgeois rule determine to a great extent communist organizing tactics." I'm not trying to put anyone down, because this has generally been the line of PL over the last few years. But I think it is wrong. Many people have said that in the period of bourgeois democracy, the entire communist party's work (i.e., that of PLP) can be accomplished by open members who are well known to the bosses, the cops, and other agents.

Unfortunately, in putting forward this line, it seems we've ignored the day-to-day existence of fascist elements within our society. It seems one major goal of our Party in the coming period has to be how to organize communist led groups within the trade unions, without putting all, or even most of our members in the spotlight as being clearly identified to the boss as being members of our Party.

Death to the fascists!

Build a communist-led trade union movement!

A PL member from San Francisco

# & comments & notes & comments & notes &

To the Editor:

Two comradely criticisms have to be made:

One: On page 13 of the December PL Magazine under the heading "How Fascism Was 'Overthrown'" and in other sections of the article on Portugal and Spain, we imply that fascism can be "overthrown" by the bourgeoisie. This gives the impression that bourgeois democracy and fascism are two different politico-economic systems, somehow disconnected from the bourgeois dictatorship over the working class.

The fact is, however, that bourgeois democracy and fascism are only two sides of the same coin, two methodologies of exploiting as well as attempting to block revolutionary struggle by the working class to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is extremely important that we make it more sharp and clear that the violence against the working class under bourgeois, hidden under the demagogy of freedoms of all sorts, do your own thing, etc., is merely the bushbeater for open naked fascist violence, should the working class engage the bourgeoisie in revolutionary struggle. The very correct point in your article is made that, "democracy" or "fascism," only the proletarian Revolution can solve the contradictions between the proletariat and bourgeoisie.

Two: The other question is that to a large extent in our political literature we speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat as if it were the final goal of history. In other words, once the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, all motion stops.

It was Frederick Engels who, in his brilliant work **Herr Duhring's Revolution in Science,** made mashed potatoes of this idea of a "perfect" system or "perfect" society. The main question is, What is the historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Comrades, we have to explain this, because bourgeois propaganda has left a complete distortion of what dictatorship is in the minds of the working class—that dictatorship is a man on a white horse, so to speak. Caesar, Napoleon, Hitler. The workers do have some faint idea because of their daily experience of exploitation by the bosses, but we have to clarify very sharply that dictatorship is weilded by one class against another. We must therefore explain that the dictatorship of the proletariat is fundamentally different from all previous class dictatorships. Slavery, feudalism, capitalism. That it is the dictatorship of the working class, whose task it is to end class dictatorship forever.

To totally smash the former exploiting class, the bourgeoisie. To make certain that it can never come back to power. And that the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the process of eliminating the bourgeoisie, withers away. That once the bourgeoisie is destroyed, the necessity of the state has thereby disappeared and the peoples of the earth can then proceed to build a class-less communist society. We must make clear, however, that this process will be a period of fierce class struggle against the defeated exploiters, who will use any gimmick to overthrow the working class.

The communist classless society will, since motion never stops, be the first humane society, in which man finally comes out of the stage of barbarism. It is not the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat which will end the dangers of fascism, war, hunger and disease—that is, the bourgeois dictatorship. But it will be the action of the dictatorship of the proletariat to completely smash class society, and thereby eliminate the needs for class society, and thereby eliminate the need for class warfare, fascism and war, hunger and disease, that will make history with the building of the classless communist society.

We must win the working class to revolutionary communism and explain that only by the working class seizing state power and smashing the bourgeois state, i.e., by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, can a revolutionary communist society become a reality. It is not our aim merely to replace one class dictatorship with another, even though it is the working class is power.

This is precisely the failure, in combination with other factors of world class realities, of the earlier proletarian Revolutions—that the dictatorship of the proletariat in those instances maintained bourgeois ideology, and though mounting a great deal about "Communism," did not keep that goal in mind. Did not win the working class to communism ideologically. Therefore, it was no wonder that the international bourgeoisie could overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in those countries.

Just look at some of the early films of the Soviet Union and you'll have a hard time looking for the masses of workers in struggle. No, it was always the individual hero who came to the "rescue." In other words, bourgeois ideology was as rampant as if the proletarian revolution had never taken place. This is the dangerous error of maintaining a bourgeois superstructure once the workers take power. We better learn that lesson so it will not be repeated. We have all seen the bloody consequences.

A comrade in Brooklyn, N.Y.

**Note:** We wanted to reproduce an interview from **Toward Revolutionary Art** magazine with one of the blacklisted Hollywood Ten. Here's what we got:

To the Editor:

Your letter is at hand. I was curious, since John Lawson is not at all well, how he could be contributing to your publication. I phoned him and he tells me he has no recollection of giving permission for publication of anything of his. Can you mean the same person, John Howard Lawson, dramatist, filmwriter, critic, historian, Marxist? There must be some error. He would like to know, and would appreciate it if you were to communicate such pertinent information as you may have through me. (As I re-read your letter, and note your reference to **Serpico,** I must conclude you have a different John Lawson.)

As for myself and my interview in **TRA,** I regret that I must withhold permission, and cannot grant you the right to publish it.

Lester Cole

## PHOTOS NEEDED!

We are in urgent need of photos, cartoons, and other illustrations, especially for historical articles. If you have illustrations that you don't need, please send them to Progressive Labor Magazine editor, Box [illegible], Brooklyn, N.Y. And if you write anything for the magazine, it would be very helpful if you included pictures for the article. Thank you.

## REVIEWING MOVIES

*PL Magazine* doesn't publish enough reviews generally and far too few movie and TV reviews. In the last couple of years *Challenge* has begun publishing frequent movie and TV reviews and that is good—but problems have arisen. Where once the usual *Challenge* review always dismissed anything as typical capitalist propaganda, a new "analysis," equally superficial, has been developed. That is, inordinate and extravagant praise—at least from a political point of view. (Except in dealing with their subjective impact on viewers, such things as the quality of the camerawork and the acting are really irrelevant. In brief newspaper reviews, the movies' politics is what should be concentrated on).

Recent *Challenge* reviews are typical of both types of review. Too much good was found in the well-meaning *Harry and Tonto*. In *Cooley High*—which certainly warranted praise—no one pointed out the treatment of the "dumb" teenager and his fate, as noted at the end: he is "doomed" to become a factory worker. While the reviewer of *Jaws* pointed out its escapist purpose, he or she tagged on an alternative interpretacion (that the reviewer should view the shark as imperialism and the victims as workers of the world) that was so far-fetched as to be embarrassing.

It would seem that the "new" criticism arose—and porperly so—from an uncomradely review of the San Francisco Mime Troupe, leading to contrary responses from the Troupe itself and from within the party. This certainly was an advance over much previous elitist criticism. However, it wasn't a signal that Hollywood, Broadway and Madison Avenue were suddenly in the antiimperialist camp. If it isn't enough to merely sneer slogans at bourgeois trash (which after all, will be seen by the huge numbers of workers regardless), it is at least as little value to give simplistic, fulsome praise that is undeserved.

For example, most people on the left—and within the Party itself—would describe two movies of the 1960s as good: the English *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner* and the Italian *The Organizer*. But seen both today both have as dominant themes individualism and defeat, and one extraordinary main character, not really understood by other workers (in *The Organizer*, the title character is explicitly stated to not be a worker, and his motivation throughout is at best obscure). While the *New Yorker* film critic Pauline Kael froths at the mouth because of even a very vague and sentimental desire for socialism in *Loneliness*, she loves *The Organizer* precisely for the humane and tender way the film's makers portrayed a scab. The organizer himself is surely no one to admire, more concerned with his ego and saving himself than the plight of the people he condescends to "help." True, the capitalist in the film is indeed a bad guy. But he is gross—an ancient caricature who would be offensive from anyone's point of view. As for the workers—in both movies—they are in turn dull, witty, silly, thieving. Why did we all rush out to see them—and then rush home to phone our friends to go?!

Reviews in both **PL** and *Challenge* should be much more analytical. Perhaps "Marxist" is a more proper word. For if we look for what the contradictions are in what we are viewing—or reading—then we can more readily understand and convey our understanding.

**PL** reviews can, of course, be longer than the ones in *Challenge*, but the ones in *Challenge* may well be more important, since more workers read the newspaper than the magazine and since it is closer in time to new movies and TV shows. *Challenge* reviews, then, are both more important and, because of time and space restrictions, more difficult to write.

But if the capitalists can solve their review problem, surely Marxists can too. I would like to make several suggestions that may at least be discussed and criticized, with responses sent to the **Magazine.**

First, the review should get to the point quickly and simply, but without resorting to slogans or catch-phases. If you think the movie is bad, say so—and *why*. Same if you think it's good, or if it has good and bad elements (a much more difficult thing to describe in a review). For example: *Mean Streets* describes Italians as crooks and racists."

### See Films with Other Workers

Second, concentrate on what you feel is the main contradiction in the film. This may be done by focusing on one scene. Remember that the movie may claim to be saying the opposite of what is actually being said (e.g., racist movies frequently claim to be anti-racist).

Third, if you have special knowledge of the film, use it. A movie made during the "united-front" era of the 1940s and occasionally shown on TV, *The Seventh Cross*, isn't the worst movie MGM ever made, from our viewpoint. But there is an interesting scene in it. The situation concerns seven men who escape from a concentration camp. One is disillusioned communist (this is implicit in the movie but clear in the book by Anna Seghers). He is hitchhiking across Germany, trying to get to a border. In the novel a truck driver gives him a lift; they reach a road block and the driver gives him a hat that hides his face, then stops, shows his own papers, and tells the police that the other man in the truck is his assistant. After they get past the road block, the driver stops the truck and tells the escaper to get out, that he won't be arrested for helping him.

But never suggest that MGM didn't know what it was doing when it made *The Seventh Cross:* The way the movie has it, as soon as the truck driver guesses who he has picked up, he stops the truck and tells him to get out—refusing to help in any way.

This is a clear case of twisted meanings, and it happens all the time when films are made from books or plays.

Fourth, recognize that for the most part no one is going to be convinced not to see the movie by reading *Challenge* review. (Did *you* not go to see *The Godfather*?) But don't be discouraged or simply ignore the challenge of criticism. At this time, the best we can hope for is to give an understanding of the class content in the film—how it may use racism or defeatism or anti-worker feelings to get its message across. There may be films that are so outrageous that they demand public protest, and here *Challenge* reviews can be used by the different clubs as organizing tools.

Fifth, see TV shows and movies with groups of people, particularly working people, and discuss the film at length, right after seeing it.

Despite the myth of bourgeois criticism, several people with good politics will understand a movie better than one person will.

No doubt in the future, *Challenge* and **PL** reviews will be much more influential. We have to start laying the foundation for that day.

## MAY DAY

This year's May Day March in Philadelphia will not be a cake-walk. Already we have found there is a city ordinance against the carrying of red flags in a parade. The ACLU has informed us that this unconstitutional and has said that they will represent us. Nonetheless the probability is that we will have to break the ordinance. 20 million tourists are expected in Philadelphia for the bi-centennial events. The ruling class will not be greeting us with open arms as we march on the Liberty Ball on May 1. This is a provocative march!! This march for socialist revolution will be a sharp attack on the bi-centennial.

Do not plan a peaceful May Day until we have socialism. Rizzo, the mayor of Philadelphia, is a politician like Louise Day Hicks. School Busing is due to start in Philadelphia in September. Taxes are being raised to pay for the city budget deficit. Philadelphia is 35 per cent black people and 5 per cent Spanish speaking. Unemployment is reported to be 42 per cent in the Puerto Rican community. Rizzo has become a national political figure through his openly racist positions and attempts at union busting.

In 1967, Rizzo, then police commissioner, led the police attack on a demonstration of several thousand black high school students protesting racism in the public schools. Hundreds of people were brutally beaten and arrested. In 1969, Rizzo personally led a raid on the Black Panther Party headquarters. Several Black Panthers were stripped naked in the streets in front of photographers. This story made national press, Rizzo made national press again during the 1973 Teachers strike, when he ordered the police to arrest picketing teachers, who were defying court injunctions. Close to 400 teachers were arrested.

Most workers with whom we have discussed the May Day March, think that it is a great idea. They think that the Party has guts to attempt such an undertaking. Philadelphia has been selected by the government to be the political center of the Bi-Centennial. It is crucial that we take this march seriously. The red flags of socialist revolution will surround the Liberty Bell on May Day, if we are successful in organizing and winning over, thousands of workers to march under PLP banners on May1. Otherwise, the police will undoubtedly stop the march. Except a sharp attack by the bosses in some form as we prepare for this march. Expect events to unfold as they did in Boston last year. But mainly remember that 200 years of capitalism is more than enough!

# COMMUNIST CONTEST!

Caption the above photo! We'll run the best ideas next issue. Just include a $1, $5 or more contribution to PL to help pay the salaries of the *Challenge* staff and the cost of printing **PL** and *Challenge*. *Challenge* workers *have not been paid* some weeks recently. Prizes? The continued publication of the best publications in the country. Grand prize: Socialist revolution! Send captions and contributions to PL Contest, G.P.O. Box 808, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201.

# International Round-Up

## U.S.-China-Japan Axis

**TOKYO, Jan. 19 (PNS)—Gerald Ford's visit to China and his new Pacific Doctrine—greeted in the U.S. press as "more of the same"—have in fact inaugurated a new balance of power in the pacific.**

In contrast to the temporary rift in U.S.-Japan relations that followed Nixon's visit to Peking in 1972, Ford's 1975 visit brought Japan into a tacit alliance with the U.S. and China against the USSR in the Pacific.

The Pacific Doctrine, announced in Hawaii Dec. 8, called for a continued strong U.S. presence in Asia, a firm partnership with Japan and the normalization of U.S.-China relations.

Its importance for Japan became dramatically clear when Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Miki announced that Japan would conclude a peace treaty with China. The announcement—directly contrary to Soviet wishes—came just hours after Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko had completed talks with Miki and boarded a plane for Moscow.

Negotiations on the treaty—which would formally end World War II for Japan and China—had stalled since June over Chinese insistence on a clause opposing "hegemony" by any third country in the Pacific. The object of this clause was widely understood to be the USSR. Miki announced the clause would be included.

Japan's turnaround in its long refusal to sign a treaty with such a clause apparently came when U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger stopped in Tokyo enroute home from Peking to brief Japanese leaders on Ford's talks with the Chinese.

**Kissinger, according to government sources here, reported fundamental U.S.-Chinese agreement on policies in every area of the world, including Angola. Despite much publicized differences between the U.S. and China on the likelihood of war with the USSR, their actual policies toward the Soviets were not in conflict, said Kissinger.**

And, he said, the Chinese approved Japan's diplomatic priorities, which places relations with the U.S. ahead of relations with China.

Gromyko's visit to Tokyo, hastily announced at the end of the year, was an effort to forestall consolidation of the new alliance.

His failure, emphasized by the speed with which Miki announced the agreement with China, was precipitated by his refusal to negotiate return of four northern islands seized by the USSR after WW II.

Gromyko insisted the islands had become part of Soviet territory after the war and would remain so. He further warned that Moscow might "reconsider" its relations with Tokyo if the Japanese moved too close to Peking.

Miki was not impressed. Assured of U.S. and Chinese support—and their fundamental agreement on Pacific policy—he abandoned efforts to win Soviet concessions and placed Japan squarely in the anti-Soviet camp.

Even before the Japanese announcement, former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger confirmed the U.S. view of the new arrangement in an interview in U.S. News and World Report. Speaking shortly after Ford's China trip, he remarked that the U.S. and China are now in quasi-alliance.

Although Korea is still a potential point of conflict, the U.S. will not challenge China over the Indochina peninsula. American military strategy in the Pacific no longer depends on combat forces based on the Asian mainland. The troops and weapons are now deployed primarily on the Pacific islands—from Micronesia to the Philippines—and on Japan and Okinawa.

Meanwhile, the Chinese no longer condemn the U.S.-Japan military alliance or Japan's steady build-up of its Self Defense Forces. On a recent "friendship visit" to China, delegates from a Japanese citizens' group that has opposed construction of military bases were asked by their hosts to reconsider their opposition.

The Soviet Union, whose ships have been plying the Pacific in increasing numbers in recent years, is clearly the big loser.

Strongly critical of U.S. overseas military bases—and countries that host them—the Soviets have been pushing for six years for an Asian security conference similar to the European security conference at Helsinki. They have found no takers for this proposal, which was intended to legitimize the USSR as a Pacific power.

Now, as the year of the dragon gets under way, a different Asian order is taking shape—with three

former enemies finding common cause in their desire to contain the USSR in the Pacific.

# Communist Observations

**Item:** Widespread and rapidly developing attacks on Teng Hsiao-ping, number two capitalist-roader purged during the Cultural Revolution and restored to power by the deceased Premier Chou En-lai, have been reported recently. Attacks on such reactionaries are good, but we caution you not to draw the conclusion that a new Cultural Revolution is in the making. Such denunciations of open right-wingers has been in the last few years in China a smokescreen by the more liberal masked capitalist-roaders to protect themselves from attacks by the revolutionary left. A real touchstone of a genuine left attack on the capitalist holders of power in China would be a sharp criticism of Chairman Mao, himself. While Mao is a hero of the Chinese Revolution, his elevation to infallible God beyond criticism, his role of support for right-wingers and his reactionary policies like allying China with the U.S. must be exposed and condemned. A new Cultural Revolution can only develop and succeed if it is directed at getting rid of all revisionist bosses. To accomplish this a new communist party of China is needed.

**Item:** Two top executives of Lockheed Aircraft Corp. have quit after exposures of world-wide bribery of foreign politicians and underworld characters. Naturally their successors would never dream of doing such a thing. Nor would other corporation executives stoop to such tactics. Shameful! If millions of $ are slipped under the table for foreign operations, how much do you think homespun U.S. politicians and Mafia are raking in with bosses' bribes?

**Item:** U.S. News & World Report says that "happy days are here again" for the bosses. "Profits are reaching record levels—and are going to $90 Billion or even higher." As for the working class, especially young minority workers, new record levels are also in store, record levels of **unemployment!** Are you fed up with two hundred years of this capitalist racism, unemployment, wars and fascism? JOIN THE MAY DAY MARCH FOR SOCIALISM—BETTER STILL—JOIN THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY.

**Item:** Malcolm H. Bell charges "coverup." "Who the hell is Bell?" you ask. Well, Bell was the assistant Attica prosecutor who resigned in December, 1974 because his Rockefeller-appointed superiors would not prosecute any of the cops and officials who brutally murdered 29 inmates and 10 hostages, including the wounding of 128 people after firing over 450 times. In addition, the cops assaulted scores of inmates after the mass killing.

Bell, a humanitarian, is shocked and dismayed at such crimes going unpunished and cries aloud in a recent Ed-Op article in the NY Times that "Humanity, the Constitution and common sense, all require equal justice."

Come now, Mr. Bell, open your eyes to reality, when did capitalism ever mean qual justice to all? As long as the STATE (the cops, courts, prisons, army and government apparatus) is in the control of the Rockefellers and their class, the jails will always be filled with sons and daughters of the working class, especially minority workers.

When the bosses' media wants to go all out to expose a Watergate coverup for their own purposes, they go all out. But a coverup of the mass murder of minority prisoners—that's not news fit to print, Mr. Bell.

Humanitarianism never got the working class anywhere. Actually this above-the-class struggle ideology is itself a coverup of the capitalist class nature of the state. We live under a bosses dictatorship, Mr. Bell, and there never will be anything but injustice for the working class, under this system.

**Item:** The French "Comunist" Party has recently concluded its 22nd Convention. Having long ago abandoned the Marxsist-Leninist strategy of revolution, the revisionists also now openly have abandoned the M-L goal of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "proletarian internationalism." It would have been good if they would have dropped the word "Communist" from their name and completely merge with the old social democratic party of Mitterand. Opportunist birds of a feather should organize together. Several delegates to the convention forgot themselves and raised their fists in a salute during the singing of the "Communist International." Marchais, top dog revisionist, chided these delegates by saying: "The clench fist is un-French, not in our French tradition."

But, Marchais, why do you still sing the "International"? Isn't the "Marseillaise" (French national anthem) more French?

## INNIS: CIA AGENT

Roy Innis (director of the Congress of Racial Equality) is busily collaborating with the the CIA and South African bosses in organizing CORE to recruit black American veterans to aid U.S. and China backed UNITA and the FNLA in Angola. According to the New York Times, Sat., Feb. 14, Innis stated that he had recruited 300 black American vets and that 1,000 more were being screened.

However, Innis and the ruling class are having a hard time selling this idea which means allying with South Africa and U.S. bosses who are responsible for record unemployment for minority (especially black) workers, and for racial genocide in both countries.

Innis, who was denounced by PLP as a bosses' agent a few years ago, is on the losing side. The Soviet and Cuban-packed MPLA have completely wiped out the UNITA and FNLA troops.

## IS THE MPLA SOCIALIST?

The U.S. press and many "leftists" are calling the MPLA "marxist". Nothing could be farther from the truth. Agostinho Neto, head of the MPLA, has always said that the group is not marxist or socialistic, and he is right. Neto stated that "foreign investment will be welcomed from all abiding by Angolan laws" (N.Y. **Times,** November 13). MPLA and South Africa are already planning a deal.

Nito Alves, another MPLA leader, said last year that "it is an error to say that there is class struggle in Angola that pits the bourgeoisie against the proletariat" **(Jornal Novo,** September 2, 1975). 3,000 workers demonstrated early this year in Luanda, capital of Angola controlled by the MPLA, calling for "no new bourgeoisie in the palace," "death to capitalism" and calling for the dictatorship of the proletariat." A radio station controlled by them was shut down by the MPLA because it was "ultra-leftist."

Obviously the MPLA is as socialist as Nasser was. The only solution in Angola is to build a Communist Party and to unite all the workers and peasants of the country, breaking all tribal divisions, and fight for socialism.

Well gee, Hua, ha ha! The money and benefits sound good, but how will Chairman Mao feel about me taking his job?

# more on 'fun city'

The article is very good at describing the facts of the New York City financial crisis, the bankers behind the scenes and the effects of the crisis on the working people of NYC and the rest of the country. It also has a good PL program for fighting back.

It is also good that they attempt to give a Marxist analysis of what's happening. Our job as communists is to understand and explain to the rest of the workers how these crises are caused by capitalism, and the article tries to do this.

However I feel the analysis itself is weak. Many of the statements dealing with taxes and capital are incorrect and confused. The main point about NYC's crisis stemming from the decline of U.S. imperialism is repeated over and over but the connections between the two is brought out clearly and correctly. Repetition is OK but it doesn't convince people who don't believe it.

Before going over the points that I believe would improve the analysis, I want to raise one criticism of the line.

In several places the article says things which could be interpreted as saying that workers benefit when the bosses make lots of profits. That idea is the basis of George Meany and the other AFL-CIO big shots' policy of selling out the workers. The bosses and sellouts push this line constantly and unfortunately many workers believe it. This hold back thw working class from struggling more effectively. It is also the basis of U.S. nationalism, or "America-First" ism, which gets U.S. workers to support things like imperialist wars which lead to greater profits for the U.S. bosses, on the belief that if the U.S. bosses prosper, the U.S. working class will prosper also. ("What's good for General Motors, is good for the country," as the bosses say).

The article says, "A shortage of capital means . . . the standard of living of all U.S. workers will fall. . . ." And "This decline in profit rate has caused and will continue cause further cuts in the standard of living of the U.S. working class," and "inter-imperialist rivalry . . . has unleashed economic forces that make it impossible for the bosses to sustain a standard of living for the working class as it did ten years ago."

The statements are exactly what *Business Week* says in its quote, "the failure of the supply of capital to keep up with demand could eat the nation's standard of living alive."

We should take this statement head on and refute it, not echo it in *our* analysis.

The workers' standard of living should depend on how class-conscious we are, how hard we workers struggle *against* the bosses, and how much communist organization the working class has. To the extent that workers' standard of living rises without these ingredients, it is a reactionary thing, what Lenin called the corruptions of a segment of the working class whom the bosses elevate to an "aristocracy of labor."

Usually this situation arises when the bosses can give some workers crumbs obtained from the super-exploitation of minority or foreign workers. The cost of these crumbs is very high. These crumbs buy the political allegiance of some workers to the bosses which disarms them in the class struggle for the "whole pie" and leads them into imperialist wars and racism toward fellow workers.

We must avoid ever implying that workers are better off when the capitalists are doing well. On the contrary, the bosses' strength is our weakness, and the bosses' weakness is our potential to overthrow them.

Going back to the other points, "the ultimate cause of the situation in NYC is the decline of U.S. imperialism" and "the decline of U.S. imperialism . . . is causing the economy to produce less amounts of surplus capital (?), the capital that municipal governments live off of." And "During the period of decline the amount of value produced by the working class is slowing down."

Instead of these vague assertions, we should pinpoint the concrete, material factors that explain why the bosses' profits are going down. Specifically three major developments are:

1) The U.S. bosses must pay higher prices for foreign raw materials. Therefore much of the value produced by the labor of U.S. workers now goes to pay foreign bosses instead of being kept by the U.S. bosses for their own purposes—like building new plants and other means of production.

2) Massive layoffs and unemployment in U.S. manufacturing industries. When the bosses have less manufacturing workers they will get less surplus value.

3) Ever-increasing number of *unproductive* workers, like government bureaucrats, more police, paper shufflers, etc., who must be supported out of the surplus value the bosses take from the productive industrial workers. (An extreme example is the vast sums the U.S. ruling class spent on the Vietnam war, which was a total loss for them since they didn't win the new colonies they had hoped for).

Finally, there is a lot of confusion in the article about what Capital is. "Taxes are an example on this *capital* which is becoming in short supply. Cities are supported by taxes. . ." And later, "One of the reasons for the panic among the bosses is the fact that one of their sources of capital—the cities—is drying up," etc.

One source of the confusion is that the article never bothers to define capital. *Capital is money invested in means of production to produce more money through the process of exploiting workers.* Workers add value to products by their labor. The value of their wages is less than the value they add in production. The difference is the *surplus value* from which the capitalist realize their gross profits. The capitalists use the surplus value they obtain for many purposes, one of which is to reinvest as new capital.

So taxes are clearly *not* "an example of capital which is in short supply."

As far as wages and taxes are concerned it's best to stick to the *material* approach rather than the formal complex arrangements that obscure what's going on. (For simplicity let's ignore the petit bourgeoisie who are not a major class in the U.S.) Then we can consider that *all* the value produced is divided between the working class and the capitalist class. The workers share is called Wages. The bosses share is called Surplus Value.

From the point of view of the working class *as a whole* (young & old, employed & unemployed, etc.), wages is made up of *two parts: take home pay* of the employed workers; AND the value of *government services that the working class benefits from*, like hospitals, libraries, parks, food stamps, unemployment benefits, Social Security, welfare, etc.

Everything else that is produced in the country goes to the *capitalist class as a whole*. They use their share, the surplus value, for several purposes: 1) Their consumption, their luxury living. 2) Their state apparatus—those government "services" that oppress workers like the police, the courts, congress, the armed forces, the "think tanks," etc. 3) Pay for

their flunkeys like supervisors, foremen, advertising men, clergymen, apologists bankers, financiers and other assorted parasites required by capitalism. 4) Their new capital—new factories, transportation equipment, oil wells, etc.

(Notice that Taxes has a split personality—part of it is in the workers' corner as a part of the wages for the class as a whole, and part is in the bosses section paying for the repressive agencies of the State).

Now lets look a the pie with each class's share broken down into its major parts.

There is a "capital crunch" because:
. The whole pie is shrinking due to:
a) Higher prices for raw materials,
b) Higher unemployment in manufacturing industries.

II. The capital slice is shrinking *relative to the other slices* in the Surplus Value Section due to:
c) Increasing proportion going to the state (increased police, military forces, etc.),
d) Increasing flunkey section (increased number of paper shufflers and administrators compared to productive workers)

How will the bosses try to solve their capital shortage? The obvious way is to counteract the factors just listed which cause the capital slice of the pie to shrink.

I. Expand the Pie:

a) Imperialist wars or other maneuvers to conquer or control the countries with the raw materials. (The bosses can't pull off a war right now, and on the maneuvering front they are losing a lot more than they are winning).

b) Increase manufacturing employment. This is pretty much out of their hands since the determining factor is how much of their stuff

II. Shrink the other slices of the Surplus Value section so that more will be left over for Capital.

c) Shrink the State, or the Flunkeys' slices. Not much chance of this because the expanding of the state and their army of flunkeys has been the result of *necessity*. The need more and more people to kee p the rest of us down and to manage their chaotic system.

d) Would they cut down on the Bosses' Consumption slice? Not likely, since that's what the system is all about. The whole capitalist system is based on their greed to grab as much as possible for themselves, whixh is what this slice represents.

So finally we see that there is *no way* to increase the capital slice *except* by taking it out of the workers' part of the pie!! (At least until they feel ready to go to war to conquer colonies). Since the workers' portion consitst of two parts, the bosses will slash in two ways. 1) Reduce take-home pay: they do this by layoffs / speedup and by inflation. 2) *Reduce the government services that benefit workers.*

So at last we come to what the NYC crisis is all about! (This analysis also unables us to understand inflation and a lot of other things going on. For instance if we had included a slice representing the income of the petit bourgeoisie we see that developments like the "malparpractice crisis" is a way the capitalists have of grabbing into that slice).

To stay in business capitalists must have capital! We have seen the various forces that are causing capital to shrink.

We see that from the point of view of *their* values and *their* self-interest, the only counteracting factor is to reach into the workers' slice of the pie. Cutting government services like in NYC is one major way they are doing this. Default, interest rates, bonds, etc. are all paperwork bullshit to maneuver and obscure this material reality.

The workers' short range program is also pointed out by this material analysis. We can increase our share by cutting into the bosses' consumption("make the bosses take the losses!") or cutting into the bosses' flunkeys and state (let them fire administrators or cops, or cut the military budget). It also shows the long run solution. Overthrow the bosses' state and get rid of the system of capitalism so that the whole pie can be expanded through more rational production, and so that the entire pie will go to the working class with not so much as a crumb for the would-be exploiters.

I feel that his presentation is clearer and more accurate than the analysis presented in the article and I think it would improve the article which is otherwise very good.

One last point. I believe that for widespread, popular consumption, the article is much too long and involved to really get read by a *large* number of people. As it stands, it will be read by very few people, *including our own members* unfortunately. Since the crisis in NYC is a *major* issue of great importance, we should re-write it in a much briefer and more readable way so that large numbers of people will actually read it and be won to out outlook.

(This also applies to many other PL articles dealing with major points in our line and program. Many of these should be re-writen in the briefest, most popular style; like articles on racism, revisionism, 30-for-40, communist fractions, caucuses, medicine, the schools, etc.).

# FASCISM Past...and Future?

# PART ONE

## I: RISE OF FASCISM 1919-1934

### INTRODUCTION

The story is not pretty. It is the story of fascism, a monumental attack of the desperate capitalists on the working class. The article presents the stark truth—not only of fascism's ultimate defeat but also of its earlier successes and the catastrophic suffering it imposed on the working class. Fascism's story is shocking and brutal, but in the end the fascist overlords were annihilated.

From the working class springs all life, all material progress. In this century only the working class has vitality. The working class will win in the end no matter what setbacks have to be endured. This is an unshakeable truth. As Lenin said:

> Communism is emerging in positively every sphere of public life; its beginnings are to be seen literally on all sides. The "contagion" (to use the favourite metaphor of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois police, the one mostly to their liking) has very thoroughly penetrated the organism and has completely permeated it. If special efforts are made to block one of the channels, the "contagion" will find another one, sometimes very unexpectedly. Life will assert itself. Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, go to extremes, commit follies, take vengeance on the Bolsheviks in advance, and endeavour to kill off (as in India, Hungary, Germany, etc.) more hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands of yesterday's and tomorrow's Bolsheviks. In acting thus, the bourgeoisie is acting as all historically doomed classes have done. Communists should know that, in any case, the future belongs to them; therefore, we can (and must) combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle, with the coolest and most sober appraisal of the frenzied ravings of the bourgeoisie. The Russian revolution was cruelly defeated in 1905; the Russian Bolsheviks were defeated in July 1917; over 15,000 German Communists were

(Photo above shows Czech underground capturing Nazi in Prague)

killed as a result of the wily provocation and cunning manoeuvres of Scheidemann and Noske, who were working hand in glove with the bourgeoisie and the monarchist generals; White terror is raging in Finland and Hungary. But in all cases and in all countries, communism is becoming steeled and is growing; its roots are so deep that persecution does not weaken or debilitate it, but only strengthens it. (**Left-Wing Communism,** Lenin.)

In the same vein Mao Tse-Tung pointed out:

The reactionary, backward, decaying classes retained this dual nature even in their last life-and-death struggles against the people. On the one hand, they were real tigers; they ate people, ate people by the millions and tens of millions. The cause of the people's struggle went through a period of difficulties and hardships, and along the path there were many twists and turns. To destroy the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives before the victory in 1949. Look! Were these not living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? But in the end they changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts. Have people not seen or heard about these facts? There have indeed been thousands and tens of thousands of them! Thousands and tens of thousands! Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are—paper tigers. ("Talk with Anna Louise Strong," Mao Tse-Tung)

## I. THE FACE OF FASCISM

"Those who won't learn from history are doomed to repeat it." — Hegel

Today the workers of the world face a severe danger from the growth of fascism. Nations like Argentina, Portugal and Lebanon are in imminent danger of a fascist takeover. The recent fascist coups in Indonesia and Chile where 500,000 and 50,000 workers respectively were slaughtered leave no doubt what will happen if the fascists succeed. The temporary but undeniable "successes" of the Indonesian and Chilean fascists in crushing the working class movement, of the Israeli fascists in aggressive expansionism have once again attracted capitalists the world over to fascism.

Here in the United States the rapid growth of the American Nazi Party from San Francisco to Minneapolis has been noted. In the East the fascist ROAR has spread from Boston to New York and as far West as Chicago. And the Ku Klux Klan, four times previously smashed, has begun its fifth resurrection, significantly based now in California, not Mississippi.

Modern fascism came into its own after World War I in 1918. It received a near-fatal crushing defeat in 1945 from workers and communists. This was the first period of modern fascism, 1918-1945. It is necessary to study the history of fascism in its first period, as well as contemporary fascism, in order to draw lessons that will teach us how to more effectively fight. Such is the purpose of this series of articles.

Fascists say many things, spin many theories, but fascism is best known for its deeds. Indeed, it is futile and pointless to search the writings of fascists to find out their "theory." "Fascism is less a policy than a state of mind," said the **Fascist**, published by Mussolini. This nonsensical statement can only trap the unwary. For the Italian fascists pursued a definite "policy" regardless of their "state of mind." Following are extensive quotations from three bourgeois historians intended to give the reader a taste of what fascism is like in action.

The bourgeois author Tasca14 states:*

By the end of 1920 the fascists were making habitual use of "punitive expeditions" to extend their influence. These were employed on a large scale in Julian Venetia, where the fascist groups were openly supported by the local authorities, and where the struggle against "bolshevism"—i.e. against Workers' Co-operatives, Sickness Funds and Culture Clubs, inherited from Austrian Socialism—was accompanied by a violent oppression of the Slovene and Croat populations. The headquarters of the Slovene associations in Trieste was set on fire in July 1920, and in October the socialist daily, **Il Lavoratore**, was attacked, and the Chamber of Labour in Fiume destroyed. This form of action, while it was intensified in Julian Venetia, where it drew much support from nationalist aspirations, spread into the Po valley, where it acquired the characteristics which were dominant up to the time of the march on Rome. In the Po valley, the towns were on the whole less red than the country, being full of landowners, garrison officers, university students, officials, **rentiers,** professional men, and tradespeople. These were the classes from which fascism drew its recruits and which officered the first armed squads. Thus an expedition would usually set out into the country from some urban centre. With arms provided by the Agrarian Association or by some regimental stores, the blackshirts would ride to their destination in lorries. When they arrived they began by beating up any passer-by who did not take off his hat to to the colours, or who was wearing a red tie, handkerchief, or shirt. If anyone pro-

* See note on sources and footnotes at the end. Number refers to specific cited author and work.

tested or tried to defend himself, if a fascist was roughly treated or wounded, the "punishment" was intensified. They would rush to the buildings of the Chamber of Labour, the Syndicate, or the Co-operative, or to the People's House, break down the doors, hurl out furniture, books, or stores into the street, pour petrol over them, and in a few moments there would be a blaze. Anyone found on the premises would be severely beaten or killed, and the flags were burnt or carried off as trophies.

The expedition usually had a definite object, which was to "Clean up" a neighbourhood. They would then draw up at once outside the headquarters of the red organization and destroy it. Groups of fascists would round up the "leaders," mayors, and town councillors, the secretary of the "league," or the president of the co-operative. These were forced to resign and banished for ever from the district, under pain of death or the destruction of their houses. If they escaped vengeance was taken on their families. "Punitive expeditions set out every day," says Chiurco in his **History of the Fascist Revolution.*** "The lorry load of fascists arrives in a given district, and they announce themselves to the head of the League. They begin with a discussion or; then either the head of the League gives way or persuasion is followed by violence. He generally does give way. If not, the revolvers have their say." If he still resisted he was done away with. They planned and directed all the expeditions without any interference from the local authorities, was arrested at Ferrara for being found in possession of a revolver. "As soon as the news became known the town was in a ferment. Columns of fascists would come to his house at night and trick him into coming out; as soon as he opened the door they would shoot him down on his own doorstep. Such people would often let themselves be taken away in order to spare their families the tragic sight. Next morning they would be found dead in the field to which the fascists had brought them. Sometimes the fascists amused themselves by taking away their victims in a lorry and, after torturing them, leaving them naked, tied to a tree, hundreds of miles away. To maintain the terror they used to send out and publish all kinds of threats and orders, without the slightest sign of interference from the magistrates or the government. Thus the Marquis Dino Perrone Compagni could with impunity send the following letter, in April 1921, to the mayor of a village in Tuscany:

"Sir, Since Italy must belong to the Italians and cannot therefore permit herself to be governed by people of your sort, speaking for your fellow-citizens who are under your administration I advise you to resign your office of mayor before Sunday, April 17. If you refuse, you alone are responsible for the consequences. If you take it upon yourself to draw the attention of the authorities to this generous, kindly and humane advice your time allowance will expire before Wednesday the 13th—a lucky number. Signed, Dino Perrone Compagni, 1 Piazza Ottaviani, Florence."

The author signed his own name, on paper stamped with the **fascio**, and added his private address, quite certain that there would be no interference with him and his friends and no official veto on the proposed expedition.

The authorities were "helpless" against the fascist offensive, according to Tasca, who continues:

> In the province of Bologna raids and acts of terrorism increased, particularly after the meeting of the fascist provincial congress (April 3), which was celebrated by the destruction of numerous workers' and socialist clubs in the capital. In the province of Ferrara, operations on a grand scale began earlier, at the beginning of March, and reached a peak in May, when the expeditions became "innumerable," there were so many, says the fascist historian, that "one could no longer keep count: leagues, organizations, all were overthrown." On May 26 Italo Balbo, who had roused the population with patriotic songs, while the bells of the principal churches sounded the tocsin. At one o'clock in the morning the Castello Estense was besieged by the fascists, who had mobilized, rounded up their country squadrons and threatened to occupy it. The authorities were forced to free Balbo and he was presented by public subscription with a new weapon to replace the confiscated one." Two months earlier Arpinati, the leader of the action squadrons in Bologna, accused of having committed several murders and other acts of violence, had been set free three days later after similar demonstrations.
>
> In the province of Mantua, which had enjoyed peace since the tragic days of December 1919, the landowners took advantage of the fascist advance to attack the agricultural labour agreement. In Mantua itself the confederate Chamber of Labour and the People's University were destroyed on April 20, and next day, with the aid of fascists who drove up in lorries from the country, the syndical Chamber of Labour, the Railwaymen's Club, and the flat of the socialist deputy Dugoni suffered the same fate. The Agrarian Association announced that in future work would only be given to those on the fascist register. Punitive expeditions wiped out leagues, co-operatives, workers' associations, special attention being paid to league leaders and their

* Official History published by the fascist government.

homes. At San Giovanni del Dosso, after the suppression of the league, wages were reduced and hours of work raised from eight to ten a day. It was impossible to get into the country without a fascist pass. At Buscoldo a lorry drew up one night outside the local co-operative club, a handsome building of which the workers were very proud. Darkness had already fallen. The fascists rushed in, shouting: "Down with the king. Long live d'Annunzio." Some guarded the main entrance, others entered the cafe; with eyes glaring and faces distorted they shouted: "Hands up." The workers present, who were playing cards or reading newspapers, obeyed. They were searched, without so much as a penknife being found. The fascists, revolver in hand, forced them to leave, one by one. At the door others lay in wait for them with daggers and bludgeons. The workers all had to run the gauntlet. Blows were rained on their heads and shoulders and they were stabbed in the back. Thirty-eight were thus stabbed, including old men, three disabled soldiers, and a fourteen-year-old child. After this the fascists ransacked the building, broke up the furniture, and destroyed the registers. At a blast from a whistle they got back into their lorry, after emptying the till, and disappeared into the night.

The tradespeople hated the co-operatives as much as the landowners hated the "leagues." At Ostiglia, an important provincial centre, there was a flourishing co-operative store in one of the little town's most beautiful buildings, containing its most popular cafe. The fascist executive stepped in and announced their decision: "The management of the co-operative are invited to go into liquidation and dispose of their property before the end of May; for shopkeepers have the right to carry on their trade without being crippled by the co-operative." The management with some difficulty secured a month's reprieve, but had to carry out the fascist decree before the end of June.

And so on, up and down the Italian Peninsula. Thus fascism has a policy—an anti-worker policy. The policy is destroy any and all workers' organizations especially the trade-unions and the workers' political party. But even co-ops or cultural clubs organized by workers earn the hatred of the fascist bosses, who are bent on reducing the working class to a state of virtual slavery.

In Spain the fascists proved they would happily exterminate any number of workers who fought back. Not only activists but any workers who even participated in strikes were slaughtered. Thomas,**15** recognized bourgeois authority on the Spanish Civil War recorded that

> The **casas del pueblo** and left-wing newspaper offices were closed down. Strikes were made punishable by death. Private rail and road movement was banned. Throughout Nationalist Spain, all Masons, all members of Popular Front parties, all members of trade unions and, in many areas, everyone who had voted for the Popular Front in the elections of February were arrested and many of these were shot. "That's Red Aranda," the Monarchist Count of Vallelano remarked to Dr. Junod, the astonished Swiss Red Cross representative, while driving past the town in August, "I am afraid we had to put the whole town in prison and execute very many people."

Albanians moved from anti-fascist fighting to state power.

The number of executions varied from district to district, according to the whim of the local commander or authorities. Civil Governors and officials of the Civil Government, if they had been appointed by the Popular Front Government, were almost always shot. So were those who sought to maintain the general strike declared at the time of the rising. The wives, sisters and daughters of men executed sometimes shared their fate. Often they would have their heads shaved, and their foreheads daubed mockingly with some working class sign such as the letters UHP or UGT. Then they might be raped. These atrocities had a special purpose. Though the rebels* were well armed, they were few in number. In a place such as Seville, the large working-class population had to be terrified into acquiescence of the new order before the nationalist commanders could sleep peaceably in their beds. Hence, not only did the rebels feel bound to act with extraordinary ruthlessness towards their enemies, but also they had to act openly, and expose the bodies of those whom they killed to public gaze. All that the Church officially insisted upon was that those killed should have the opportunity for confession. "Only 10 percent of these dear children refused the last sacraments before being despatched by our good officers," recorded with satisfaction the Venerable Brother at Majorca. Mourning, however, was generally prohibited even to the relations of those who had thus made a good death.

Day after day, from the time of the success of the rising, the arrests continued. Who knew with what crime those taken would be charged, or whether they would ever come back? The French Catholic writer, Georges Bernanos, who was at the time in Majorca, described how men were arrested by the Nationalist armed gangs "every day from lost villages, at the time when they came in from the fields. They set off on their last journey with their shirts still clinging to their shoulders with sweat, with their arms still full of the day's toil, leaving soup untouched on the table, and a woman, breathless, a minute too late at the garden wall, with a little bundle of belongings hastily twisted into a bright new napkin: Adios: Recuerdos." In most cases, however, the arrests were made at night, and the consequent shooting also done in the dark. Sometimes the executions would be single, sometimes collective. Sometimes, the official in charge, out of compassion, would arrange for a generous supply of wine to be at hand, so that the doomed might steep their despair in the wisdom of intoxication before death. The next morning, the bodies would be found. Often these would be of distinguished members of the parties of the Left, or of officers loyal to the Republic. But no one would dare to identify these corpses. For example, the corpse of Colonel Mena, the head of the Civil Guard in Burgos, a loyal Colonel of a cavalry regiment, and five other well-known citizens of that city were condemned to rest for ever beneath a tomb marked "Seven unidentified bodies. Found on the hill near the 102 km stone on the road to Valladolid."

After a while (at least in the north), the exposure of corpses to the public gaze was suspended, on the request of General Mola. He declared himself inconvenienced by the bodies on the roadside. Hence-forward, the executions occurred discreetly, in the orchards of a remote monastery or among the boulders on some desolate hillside.

Of course it was the Nazis who polished and perfected the methods of the early fascists in Italy and Spain. In the war against the Soviet Union special execution squads of Einsatz commandoes were set up to murder every Communist, every Soviet officer, every Soviet commissar and every Jew that fell into Nazi hands. Here the Nazis took racism and anti-communism to its logical conclusion. The U.S. best-seller **The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich** by Shirer12 using only captured Nazi documents or testimony at Nuremburg by the Nazis themselves is not prone to exaggeration. Shirer states:

> An eyewitness report by a German of how a comparatively minor mass execution was carried out in the Ukraine brought a hush of horror over the Nuremberg courtroom when it was read by the chief British prosecutor, Sir Hartley Shawcross. It was a sworn affidavit by Hermann Graebe, the manager and engineer of a branch office in the Ukraine of a German construction firm. On October 5, 1942, he witnessed the Einsatz commandos, supported by Ukrainian militia, in action at the execution pits at Dubno in the Ukraine. It was a matter, he reported, of liquidating the town's 5,000 Jews.
>
> . . . . My foreman and I went directly to the pits. I heard rifle shots in quick succession from behind one of the earth mounds. The people who had got off the trucks—men, women and children of all ages—had to undress upon the order of an S.S. man, who carried a riding or dog whip. They had to put down their clothes in fixed places, sorted according to shoes, top clothing and underclothing. I saw a heap of shoes of about 800 to 1,000 pairs, great piles of under-linen and clothing.
>
> Without screaming or weeping these peo-

* "Rebels" here refers to the fascists led by Francisco Franco who organized a rightwing uprising against the popular front government.

Japanese invaders parade through Hong Kong.

Surviving prisoners watching from blocks nearby remembered how for a time the signal for the orderlies to pour the crystals down the vents was given by a Sergeant Moll. "**Na, gib ihnen schon zu fressen**" (All right, give 'em something to chew on"), he would laugh and the crystals would be poured through the openings, which were then sealed.

Through heavy-glass portholes the executioners could watch what happened. The naked prisoners below would be looking up at the showers from which no water spouted or perhaps at the floor wondering why there were no drains. It took some moments for the gas to have much effect. But soon the inmates became aware that it was issuing from the perforations in the vents. It was then that they usually panicked, crowding away from the pipes and finally stampeding toward the huge metal door where, as Reitlinger puts it, "they piled up in one blue clammy blood-spattered pyramid, clawing and mauling each other even in death."

Twenty or thirty minutes later when the huge mass of naked flesh had ceased to writhe, pumps drew out the poisonous air, the large door was opened and the men of the **Sonderkommando** took over. These were Jewish male inmates who were promised their lives and adequate food in return for performing the most ghastly job of all.* Protected with gas masks and rubber boots and wielding hoses they went to work. Reitlinger has described it.

Their first task was to remove the blood and defecations before dragging the clawing dead apart with nooses and hooks, the prelude to the ghastly search for gold and the removal of teeth and hair which were regarded by the Germans as strategic materials. Then the journey by lift or railwagon to the furnaces, the mill that ground the clinker to fine ash, and the truck that scattered the ashes in the stream of the Sola.

There had been, the records show, some lively competition among German businessmen to procure orders for building these death and disposal contraptions and for furnishing the lethal blue crystals. The firm of I.A. Topf and Sons of Erfurt, manufacturers of heating equipment, won out in its bid for the crematoria at Auschwitz. The story of its business enterprise was revealed in a voluminous correspondence found in the records of the camp. A letter from the firm dated February 12, 1943, gives the tenor.

TO THE CENTRAL CONSTRUCTION OFFICE OF THE S.S. AND POLICE, AUSCHWITZ:

SUBJECT: Crematoria 2 and 3 for the camp.

We acknowledge receipt of your order for five triple furnaces, including two electric elevators for raising the corpses and one emergency elevator. A practical installation for stoking coal was also ordered and one for transporting ashes.

The correspondence of two other firms engaged in the crematorium business popped up at the Nuremberg trials. The disposal of the corpses at a number of Nazi camps had attracted commercial competition. One of the oldest German companies in the field offered its drawings for crematoria to be built at a large S.S. camp in Belgrade.

For putting the bodies into the furnace, we suggest simply a metal fork moving on cylinders.

Each furnace will have an oven measuring only 24 by 18 inches, as coffins will not be used. For transporting the corpses from the storage points to the furnaces we suggest using light carts on wheels, and we enclose diagrams of these drawn to scale.

Another firm, C.H. Kori, also sought the Belgrade business, emphasizing its great experience in this field since it had already constructed four furnaces for Dachau and five for Lublin, which, it said, had given "full satisfaction in practice."

Following our verbal discussion regarding the delivery of equipment of simple construction for the burning of bodies, we are submitting plans for our perfected

* Those traitorous Sonderkommandos who survived migrated to Palestine; many of them became the backbone of the Israeli fascist Stern or Irgun gangs and practiced what they learned from the Nazis on Arab villagers in Palestine. After Israel was founded, the former Sonderkommandos became the core of the Israeli secret police and elite commandos.

cremation ovens which operate with coal and which have hitherto given full satisfaction.

We suggest two crematoria furnaces for the building planned, but we advise you to make further inquiries to make sure that two ovens will be sufficient for your requirements.

We guarantee the effectiveness of the cremation ovens as well as their durability, the use of the best material and our faultless workmanship.

Awaiting your further word, we will be at your service.

Heil Hitler!
C. H. Kori, G.M.B.H.

In the end even the strenuous efforts of German free enterprise, using the best material and providing faultless workmanship, proved inadequate for burning the corpses. The well-constructed crematoria fell far behind at a number of camps but especially at Auschwitz in 1944 when as many as 6,000 bodies (Hoess put it at as many as 16,000) had to be burned daily. For instance, in forty-six days during the summer of 1944 between 250,000 and 300,000 Hungarian Jews alone were done to death at this camp. Even the gas chambers fell behind and resort was made to mass shootings in the **Einsatzkommando** style. The bodies were simply thrown into ditches and burned, many of them only partly, and then earth was bulldozed over them. The camp commanders complained toward the end that the crematoria had proved not only inadequate but "uneconomical."

The Zyklon-B crystals that killed the victims in the first place were furnished by two German firms which had acquired the patent from I.G. Farben. These were Tesch and Stabcnow of Hamburg, and Degesch of Dessau, the former supplying two tons of the cyanide crystals a month and the latter three quarters of a ton.

This then is fascism in practice.

## II. FASCISM AS A FORM OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE*

The bourgeoisie announced its accession to power 200 years ago with the slogan "Liberty, equality and fraternity" promising "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." One hundred and fifty years later the slogans changed to the "Fuhrer Principle," the "superman theory of Aryan supremacy" and the "final solution to the Jewish Question," promising death, destruction and crematoria. Sergeant Moll of Auschwitz and Lt. Calley of My Lai typify the petty fascist official of latter day capitalism, while C.H. Kori and Dow Chemicals carried out the capitalist laws of free enterprise to their logical conclusion.

This history of fascism will show:

(1) Fascism was not an isolated phenomenon in Italy, Spain and Germany but had a world wide movement active in virtually every country;

(2) Fascism was not an accidental abomination of a few fanatics but the carefully conceived creation of the ruling classes of the world.

That fascism took state power in Italy, Germany, Spain and Japan is well known. Not so well known are the following facts:

- A fascist dictatorship took power in Hungary even before Italian fascism was a mass phenomena. The Hungarian fascists later eagerly allied themselves with Hitler, took part in the invasion of the Soviet Union and happily transported 550,000 Hungarian Jews to the Nazi death camps.
- A homegrown fascist movement took power in Austria with no outside help and three years later delivered the nation to Hitler on a silver platter.
- Norway and Denmark were not so much overrun by German troops as they were freely delivered to the Nazis by home-grown fascist cliques, that in one case included many leading military and civilian figures (Norway) and in the other (Denmark) all the leaders of the former "democratic" government.
- Homegrown fascist gangs every bit as vicious as the Nazis were placed in power by the bourgeoisie in such diverse nations as Finland, Portugal, Rumania, Greece, Argentina, El Salvador, China and many other nations.
- In "democratic" France there was a huge and powerful fascist movement financed by the bourgeoisie, protected by the leading politicians and military men that fatally weakened any French military effort against the German Nazis and then took power under German protection in 1940.
- In "democratic" Britain there was a movement of similar prowess and similar purpose; and this was the case, allowing for local variations, in the U.S., Sweden and virtually every nation except the Soviet Union.

In later articles we will examine all these fascist movements in more detail, but for now we want to establish that fascism was a world-wide phenomena, not restricted to any one or several countries. As for the second point, that the ruling capitalist classes were the behind-the-scenes bosses of fascism and all its crimes, the above-quoted facts describing how I.G. Farben* and other large German companies built the crematoria and gas chambers only begin to tell the story:

- The biggest armaments capitalist in Germany

* Editor's note: In the previous issue of this magazine, a comrade wrote questioning our calling fascism another face of liberalism. We think the subject well may be settled within this article and particularly in this section.

* After the war I.G. Farben split into three companies, which unlike Hitler, are all alive and well today. They include: BASF, Hoechst Chemicals, Bayer Co., which are the first, second and fourth biggest companies in West Germany today.

was and still is today Krupp. For his greater profit the SS provided him with slave labor. The "senior doctor" for Krupp described in an affidavit at Nuremberg how these workers were treated:

1. 600 Jewish women who worked for Krupp:
   Upon my first visit I found these females suffering from open festering wounds and other diseases. I was the first doctor they had seen for at least a fortnight... There were no medical supplies... They had no shoes and went about in their bare feet. The sole clothing of each consisted of a sack with holes for their arms and head. Their hair was shorn. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire and closely guarded by S.S. guards.
2. The Russian and Polish slave laborers for Krupp:
   The clothing of the Eastern workers was likewise completely inadequate. They worked and slept in the same clothing in which they had arrived from the East. Virtually all of them had no overcoats and were compelled to use their blankets as coats in cold and rainy weather. In view of the shortage of shoes many workers were forced to go to work in their bare feet, even in winter...
3. The French prisoners of war working for Krupp:
   Its inhabitants were kept for nearly half a year in dog kennels, urinals and in old baking houses. The dog kennels were three feet high, nine feet long, six feet wide. Five men slept in each of them. The prisoners had to crawl into these kennels on all fours ...(Quoted by Shirer from Nuremberg trial records.)

• Italian big capital backed Mussolini from the first, financing his newspaper as far back as 1915, providing the money and arms for his fascist squadristi. Big business was rewarded after fascism took power by a big reduction in business taxes and of course the smashing of trade unions which ended strikes and lowered wage costs for big business.

• The Hungarian fascist movement was mainly financed by the big twelve Jewish families in Hungary that controlled 90 percent of Hungarian industry. They benefitted and grew rich for twenty five years under Hungarian fascism. Then in 1944 they sold their companies to Hungarian capitalists, and emigrated to Palestine after helping the Nazis and the Hungarian police round up 550,000 working class and lower middle class Jews for the ovens of Auschwitz. (See below, section VI.)

• In the U.S. the open admirers of Hitler among the wealthy included among others JFK's father, multi-millionaire Joseph Kennedy, then Ambassador to Britain, Charles Lindbergh, the "lone eagle"; and Hearst the newspaper king who proclaimed in 1934 "Hitler is certainly an extraordinary man; we estimate him too lightly in America."

• In France the daily millionaire press was 100 percent pro-Munich, pro-Mussolini, pro-Franco. Its constant theme was that you can't beat fascism—a self-fulfilling prophecy.

• In Britain the British Union of Fascists was fully backed by Lord Rothmere, owner of the **Daily Mail** and financed by many other lords and ladies; the leader himself, Mosely, was a landed aristocrat.

• The two biggest banks in Germany in this period were (and are today still) the Deutsche

Bank and the Dresdner Bank. The directors of these two banks sat on the boards of most of the big German industries: Haniel combine, Hoesch combine, Mannesman combine, Volkswagen, Steel Trust, I.G. Farben, Quandt combine, Reemtsma, the key insurance company Dye Stulf Trust, Salzdethforth, Krupp, Junkers, Flick, Wintershall, Bosch, No. German Lloyd and the Goring combine (Dresdener bank actually controlled this billion dollar outfit nominally headed by Hitler's number two man.) All these combines grew immensely under fascism and it is clear how they directed and influenced Nazi policy. First they took over the Jewish department stores in Germany, then expanded into Eastern Europe, taking over Eastern European Banks (such as Banca Commerciale Romana) that were formerly controlled by French capital, and much else. The key bank directors became top officials in Hitler's Reich completely controlling the Central Bank and the finance ministries.9

Later this article will show in more detail how in each and every case it was the ruling capitalists who put fascism in power and who materially benefited from the fascist state system.

Fascism, then, is a continuation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The ruling class remains the same. The Krupps, the Thyssens, the directors of I.G. Farben were the masters of the German economy under the Kaiser, under the Weimar Republic, under Hitler and are again today in the

Federal Republic of West Germany. The twelve Jewish families were the masters of Hungarian industry under the Hapsburg monarchy, under the various forms of Hungarian fascism and Nazism and again today are leading figures in the State of Israel. The Mitsuis, Mitsobishis and Sumitomos were the masters of the Japanese economy under the liberal regime of the 1920's, under the fascist regime of 1930-1945 and today in contemporary Japan. On the boards of the big corporations, the big banks and insurance companies even in the government finance ministries or central banks, the fascist "revolution" produces hardly a ripple of change. A new face like Goring may get some of the action, but this is minor; the same billionaires control the industry and the economy.

There is really no fundamental change in the political sphere as well, although this is not so obvious. Certainly the preceding liberal and conservative political leaders are given the boot and in some cases (Spain, Japan, Rumania) are even killed, and a new "Fuhrer," "Duce," "Caudillo," "lider," "Gauleiter," or "Generalissimo" takes total power.

That is at least the appearance. But it is a very misleading appearance. Without denying the strong effect—more of style and form than of real content—that an aggressive political leader like Hitler, Roosevelt, Mussolini or Churchill can have on government, the real decisions that affect the class content of government are rarely made by the top man but by the second and third layer in the government bureaucracy. It is here that the thousand and one daily decisions are made by 1000 or 10,000 officials that affect the real interests of the capitalist class. Here in these second and third levels the price, interest, money and wage policies are worked out; the content of education and propaganda decided on; the training and conduct of the military and the various police and intelligence agencies directed. Here are the diplomats, those who regulate trade and agriculture, those who run government services to industry (like the post office and the railroads). These thousands of daily decisions are beyond the physical possibility of any Fuhrer to effect. The personnel of the bureaucracy carry out the class content of state power. A look at the change or lack of it in the bureaucracies of the fascist states shows that by and large the same bureaucrats who served the capitalists under liberal regimes also served them under the fascist regime:

- The Nazi ministry of justice was unchanged from the Republic to the Third Reich; not one department or assistant department head was changed.[9]
- There were no personnel changes in the foreign office. Only two new staff members entered the office of the president when Hitler took over. Likewise the Ministry of Interior, the Academy of Science, the Ministry of Finance, the Federal Statistical Service and even the Ministry of Labor had only the normal changes due to retirement or promotion in the transition from liberal Republic to Nazi dictatorship.[9]
- A detailed study* of the bureaucracy down to the heads of provincial and local financial organizations, to the members of federal and provincial financial tribunals, to the civil and criminal courts, to the various administrative staffs show completely normal stability in the transition to Nazism 1931-1936 in Germany.
- In Belgium during the Nazi occupation the secretaries-general of all the ministries were the same as under the preceding liberal regime. In Denmark even the ministers were unchanged.
- In France the overwhelming majority of officials under the Vichy fascist regime had occupied the very same post under the Third Republic.
- In Norway the Supreme Court remained after the Nazi invasion and appointed a new administrative council of the same old bureaucrats to serve the Nazi regime as they had the liberal regime.

Thus the outer trappings change but inside it is the same old capitalists and their bureaucratic flunkies who ran the show. However, there are some important differences between the ordinary capitalist government and the fascist capitalist government.

## III. THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF FASCISM

Fascism is characterized by a vast intensification of the nationalism, racism and anti-communism of the preceeding capitalist régimes. Thus the nationalism that is previously disguised under such slogans as "white man's burden," "make the world safe for democracy" becomes much more blatant in "Deutschland uber alles," and the "new Roman Empire." And the regime organizes around the most extreme nationalist and racist slogans. Thus the Germans need more living space ("lebensraum") so organize a march to the East ("Drang nach osten") and enslave the "subhuman" Slavic peoples ("untermenschen"). While many liberal capitalists believe in these things, the fascists not only blurt them out but proudly make it a matter of top-priority state policy. The nation is militarized, uniformly propagandized for nationalist war to a qualitatively greater extent than the preceding capitalist regimes were capable of.

In order to break up their opposition the fascists take over and vastly intensity the liberals' racist trick of divide and conquer. Not only the well-known Nazi genocide toward the Jews need be cited. The Italian fascists pursued a genocidal policy toward Slovenes and Croats in the eastern areas. The Spanish fascists cruelly suppressed the Catalan and Basque minorities, slaughtering many and banning the use of their age-old languages. The Japanese fascists pushed a viciously discriminatory policy toward Korean workers in Japan and in Korea. The U.S. fascists attacked black people, lynching hundreds in the period of 1920-1940 alone. The British fascists were (and are) anti-Irish; the Polish fascists organized programs against the Jewish and Ukranian minorities. The Finnish fascists harshly suppressed the Lapplanders in the north. Hungarian fascists slaughtered tens of thousands of Yugoslavs, handed over a half million Jews to Nazi death

* Done by Franz Neumann[9]

camps, suppressed Rumanians, Czechs and even Germans. The Chinese fascist KMT suppressed millions of non-Han Chinese minorities in the west and north.

Thus the fascists vastly intensify nationalism among their own people and in particular within the working class (racism), as well as nationalism with respect to other nations. Certainly it can't be denied that the liberal regimes that pave the way for fascism practice the same policies. But fascism institutes a shockingly greater intensification of the liberals' racism and nationalism. Thus the disgusting patronizing tokenism of the Kennedy liberals is replaced by the fascist slogan "Ship them back to Africa." The white-collar anti-Semitism of the liberal Weimer Republic is replaced by the gas chambers of the Nazi "Final Solution to the Jewish Question." And the legal discrimination the Basques endured under the liberal Spanish Republic is replaced by the physical suppression—tortures, prison and firing squads—of fascist Spain. Thus the creeping expansionism of the liberal Giollitti is replaced by Mussolini's boast that the Mediterranean Sea is an Italian lake. The hesitant anti-China policy of liberal Japan in the 1920s is replaced by the out and out annexation of the richest third of China by fascist Japan. And the stern but inadequate anti-India measures of the liberal British imperialists are challenged by the British Union of Fascists who demand firing squads and concentration camps on a vastly larger scale.

It is the same business in regard to anti-communism. Under liberal regimes, communists are hardly given a place in the sun, and in fact are in a thousand and one ways suppressed and put in a disadvantageous position. Communists today are arrested, beaten in jail, excluded from various formations, prevented from access to the press, from leafletting factories, kicked off campuses, fired from jobs, etc. Our predecessors in their day, the Communist Party (CP), the Socialist Party and the IWW also suffered the harassments, jailings, beatings and in some cases murders at the hands of the liberal bourgeoisie, in the latter's vain attempt to stem the growth of communist ideas. It was during the regime of liberal Woodrow Wilson that hundreds of IWW members were rounded up and jailed indefinitely. It was under liberal FDR that communist-led steel workers were massacred at Republic Steel. It was liberal Harry S. Truman who rounded up the entire leadership of the Communist Party. It was liberal Eisenhower who signed the death sentence for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, JFK who used the McCarran Act to complete the destruction of the remnants of the CP. Under LBJ, another "liberal," Progressive Labor Party members were dragged before HUAC three times.

This anti-communism, which is a fact of life under all bourgeois regimes, becomes a gross crusade under fascism. Nothing less than the physical extermination of all communists, their friends and even their past associates satisfies the blood lust of the fascist beasts. Thus the communists were the first to suffer the Nazi concentration camps. Whenever Russian prisoners were taken during the war, communist party members were immediately separated and shot first. The Italian Communist Party was the first party proscribed by Mussolini's fascist regime. It was no accident that the pact uniting the fascist powers Germany, Italy and Japan, was called the "anti-Comintern Pact" and explicitly directed against the Communist International. Moreover, as we shall see below and in succeeding articles, the first act of all fascist regimes, from Estonia to China, was to outlaw the communist party and all communists.

Prague workers drag German sniper from house.

So a qualitative intensification of racism, nationalism and anti-communism is the characteristic of fascism. Very few fascists openly call themselves fascists. Often they identify themselves as "socialist" or "patriots"; they stand for an "anti-monopoly movement," a movement for "moral renaissance" to "restore our ancient rights,"° "clean government," to "restore morality in government"; they are invariably for the worker, for the farmer, for the "little guy." Sometimes fascism is not obvious. When this is the case, apply the litmus tests of nationalism and anti-communism. If the movement or regime is intensely nationalist or racist, and intensely anti-communist—assume the disease to be fascism.

For example, take the hypothetical group, the "February Union" (FU). An organization widely believed to be "of the Left," "part of the anti-imperialist movement." It is found that the FU spends most of its time and energy attacking communists in the PLP rather than the class enemy. And in fact, its occasional half-hearted sallies against the bosses are carried out with so much less gusto than its anti-communist splitting activity, that this group appears to be organized more for the purpose of building anti-communism in the working class than for any real fight against

the bosses. And far from promoting inter-racial unity or internationalism, the FU spends all its time promoting "Third World Caucuses," presenting "white demands" in an anti-racist struggle, organizing **black** unions, **Puerto Rican** caucuses, **Chicano** study groups, fawning over every bourgeois nationalist regime from Panama and Peru to Algeria and Ethiopia; even out-and-out fascist groups, like the Peronists in Argentina or the NeWin clique in Burma, are supported if they are nationalist enough.

Try the litmus test of anti-communism and nationalism on this group, and draw your own conclusions.

But before we go too far astray, let us examine the fascists of 1917-1934 and see what lessons we can learn here.

## IV. THE BLACK SHIRTS

> We say to the workers: "You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and international wars, not only in order to change existing conditions, but also in order to change yourselves and fit yourselves for the exercise of political power."—Marx

The working class movement in Italy in 1919 was one of the strongest, at least in appearances. The Italian Socialist Party, with some 200,000 members, was the biggest Socialist Party to oppose the imperialist World War I (although from a pacifist, not a Leninist position). In 1919 the Party joined the Communist International and supported Soviet Russia. In the elections of November 1919, the Party, running on a program of the dictatorship of the proletariat, got one-third of the votes and 156 seats in Parliament, and a few months later in the municipal elections the Party won control in 2000 municipalities. The Party-led trade unions had a membership of 2,000,000, which in September, 1920, led a massive strike of 500,000 workers, who took over more than 1000 factories in northern Italy and won significant wage gains. They led a strike of 200,000 agricultural laborers in Pavia, a sailors' mutiny in Trieste and land seizures by peasants near Rome.

Nevertheless, the working class movement in Italy was one of the weakest. The key positions of power in the Socialist Party were held by right-wingers (revisionists), who opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat and revolution. While the vast majority of the Party were revolutionaries in sentiment, there were no revolutionary leaders to seize the situation. As the Communist International wrote in October 1920, "In Italy there exist all the necessary conditions for a victorious revolution, except one—a good working class organization." In January 1921 some 60,000 communists broke from the revisionists and the verbal revolutionaries, like Serrati, who swung between unity with the revisionists and unity with the communists. The communists, however, having made this necessary break, set up no revolutionary combat organization; the leadership of the communists was moreover sectarian and factionalist, largely devoid of bold leaders with vision and guts. Thus without revolutionary leadership the working class movement in Italy was only superficially strong.

Mussolini was expelled from the Socialist Party in 1915 for supporting the imperialist war; he had been editor of the Socialist Party paper **Aventi.** Financed by a Milan industrialist[14] he immediately set up his own paper **Popolo d'Italia** and formed some bodyguards called **fasci.** After the war, in March 1919 about 100 fasci, anarchists, Masons and other thugs and assorted riff raff were brought together by Mussolini to form the new Fascist Party. A month later they arrogantly burned down **Avanti.** Incredibly the 100,000 strong Socialists called a general strike, collected money, but did nothing in revenge to the handful of fascists. Mussolini emboldened by this socialist pacifism called the socialists "philistines and cowards." No attempt at revenge was so much as planned.[14]

For the next eighteen months the fascists were a small but growing group, eclipsed even in right-wing nationalist circles by the deranged poet D'Annunzio who with the connivance of the Army was organizing imperialist expeditions against the Yugoslavs. After D'Annunzio's comic-opera expulsion from Fiume, many of his disillusioned legionnaires joined the fascists, and after the September, 1920 sit-in strikes, the frightened capitalists turned toward Mussolini as their savior from the "Bolsheviks."

The fascist program seemed "radical" and claimed to be "anti-capitalist." It called for a progressive tax on capital; 85 percent profits tax, nationalization of the munitions industry, confiscation of all church property, deposing the king, workers participation in factory management, a high minimum wage, women's rights, etc. But the capitalists were not fooled; the violently nationalist "Greater Italy" demands gave the game away. One Rome newspaper told its bourgeois readers that fascists wanted to lead the revolutionary forces into the nationalist camp so as to prevent a victory of Bolshevism (communism).

From the beginning big business bankrolled the Fascist Party to the hilt. The roving fascist squads were on the big business payroll, the fascist newspapers and headquarters were all paid for by the big industrialists and bankers.[14] Later when it came time for Mussolini to seize power, big business would see that all went smoothly.

Minister of War Bonomi gave even more concrete help to the fascists. On October 20, 1920, a month after the sit-in strikes, a secret decree was circulated to all demobilized army officers offering them four-fifths of their former pay if they joined the fascist squads in order to control and lead them. Some 50,000 eventually took the Army up on this offer.[14] From their comrades on the active list, these fascist officers obtained arms, trucks and transportation, and if the fascists

faced too much workers' resistance, the army lent a more active hand. For example, in Siena in the spring of 1921, workers killed eight fascists in just retribution for their scab activities. The fascists attacked the People's House in Siena to gain revenge, but the workers resisted and would have won the day except that 200 troops with machine guns and artillery forced the People's House to surrender to the fascists.14

The police likewise cooperated with the fascist squads. In Portomaggiore, for example, in the same period police accompanied the fascist squads to disarm workers and then to hand over the workers' guns to the fascists. The cops often joined in singing fascist songs.

The big capitalists provided money, the army provided officers and guns, local landlords provided trucks and gas, police provided protection and information. But it was the petty bourgeoisie who made up the bulk of the fascist squads. Small landowners, who felt hemmed in by the agricultural unions; former military officers, who hated the socialist anti-war policy; numbers of students, taken in by an anti-worker education; civil servants and petty officials, small shopkeepers, professionals, small businessmen and some criminal elements provided the manpower for the fascist squads and the Fascist Party that grew to 320,000 by November 1921. An analysis of the class origin of the membership made then by the Fascist Party secretary showed the biggest group to be small farmers and small shopkeepers; the second biggest group was composed of managers, supervisors and professionals; the third biggest group were students:14

Following the sit-in strikes, the Socialists and communists allowed the workers movement to flounder. The fascists were quick to take advantage of the situation. On November 21, 1920 at the swearing in ceremony of the newly elected communist officials in Bologna, fascist goon squads struck killing nine workers and driving the communists out of town. From this fascist success a campaign in rural Ferrara and the Po Valley countryside was begun by fascist squads, killing, looting and burning. The socialist-controlled town governments were forcibly dissolved at gun point and agricultural unions were broken up. The vicious campaign reached a crescendo of anti-working class violence in the months of March, April and May 1921, and spread to most of the Central Italian countryside. In those months, hundreds of socialists, communists and militants were killed and thousands beaten or driven from their homes by the fascist punitive squads. Some 17 socialist newspapers, 59 "people's houses," 119 local labor temples, 107 co-ops, 51 socialist and communist headquarters, 10 workers' libraries, 100 workers' cultural clubs, 53 workers' social clubs were burned to the ground.14 In the provinces of Tuscany, Emilia-Romagna, Umbria, in the Po Valley and parts of Lombardy and Venetia, the once dominant socialist movement and all trade unions were virtually wiped out.

Little villages suffered the most in these first fascist offensives. The small village of Roccastrada, near Siena, was descended on by a gang of fascists when the socialist mayor refused "an invitation" to resign. Homes were burned, and when one of the fascist dogs was shot by a worker, more fascists came, burning down more houses and "executing" several workers at random. The government, of course, did nothing to defend the "legally-elected" socialist officials from the fascist outrages. But the police and army, "unbeknownst" to the liberal government, provided arms and protection to the fascists.

These scenes were repeated in hundreds of villages in central Italy, the fascists concentrating their forces with great mobility whenever resistance was felt. The town of Grossetto held out, killing at least one fascist, but reinforcements came from as far away as Florence and Perugia until the town fell to the fascists.

The socialists and communists did not match the mobility and boldness of the fascists. In fact they displayed mostly pacifism under attack and indifference to attacks on neighboring villages. In the province of Rovigio in Venetia, for example, all sixty three villages were Socialist at the beginning of 1921. Each village succumbed to the fascist raids, one after another in a few months, without any attempt being made by the Socialists to unite their struggles. The Socialist deputies from Rovigio instead introduced a "revolutionary" resolution in Parliament. The **Avanti** was burned down again by the emboldened fascists and again all the Socialists did was call a short general strike. The communists used the same meaningless tactic when their headquarters in Turin was burned down by the fascists. Then, the Socialists in August signed a "peace pact" with Mussolini, which the fascists celebrated by sacking five Socialist club houses in Ravenna. (Mussolini claimed he couldn't control his followers; the Socialist pacifists agreed to overlook the incidents.)

The Socialists and Communists instead concentrated on the elections of May 1921. (The Socialists won 123 seats, the Communists 16 seats, the fascists only 35 out of 500.) This paper "victory" was hailed by **Avanti** (now printing in its third office in eighteen months. thanks to fascist arsonists): "The Italian proletariat has buried the fascist reaction under a sea of red posters,"14 the editors exclaimed. For all their verbal support of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system, the Socialists and Communists both had not even an elementary understanding of the central role of violence in class struggle. And they adamantly refused to learn.

More and more, the liberals began to pave the way for the fascist "revolution." The liberals formed an electoral bloc with the fascists which gave the latter their first voice in Parliament. The liberal Giolitti "hoped to tame" the fascists this way. (However, the new "untamed" fascist deputies in Parliament drove out a communist deputy at the point of a revolver.) The Facta

cabinet of February 1922, included for the first time fascist intermediaries who prepared the ground for the fascist takeover from the liberals and who gave more police protection to the fascist raids.

The short-lived "peace pact" was soon over when the fascists murdered a railroad worker, and a second fascist offensive began in the spring of 1922. From their base in central Italy, the fascist squads roamed north and south, and by summer were moving in on the big Socialist towns. In July 1922 Cremona near Milan fell, the province of Appulia far to the south fell, the key towns in the Marches and Latium fell. In August the last trade union towns, "Red" Ancona, "labor town" Leghorn, Pavia and Parma were occupied by the fascists. On August 5th Genoa had to face the fascists. Here Communist-led workers fiercely resisted, and it took two days of streetfighting against 5000 fascists with armored cars before the fascists and police "restored order," and then annulled all labor contracts. By this time workers could openly organize only in the three main cities of Rome, Milan and Turin.

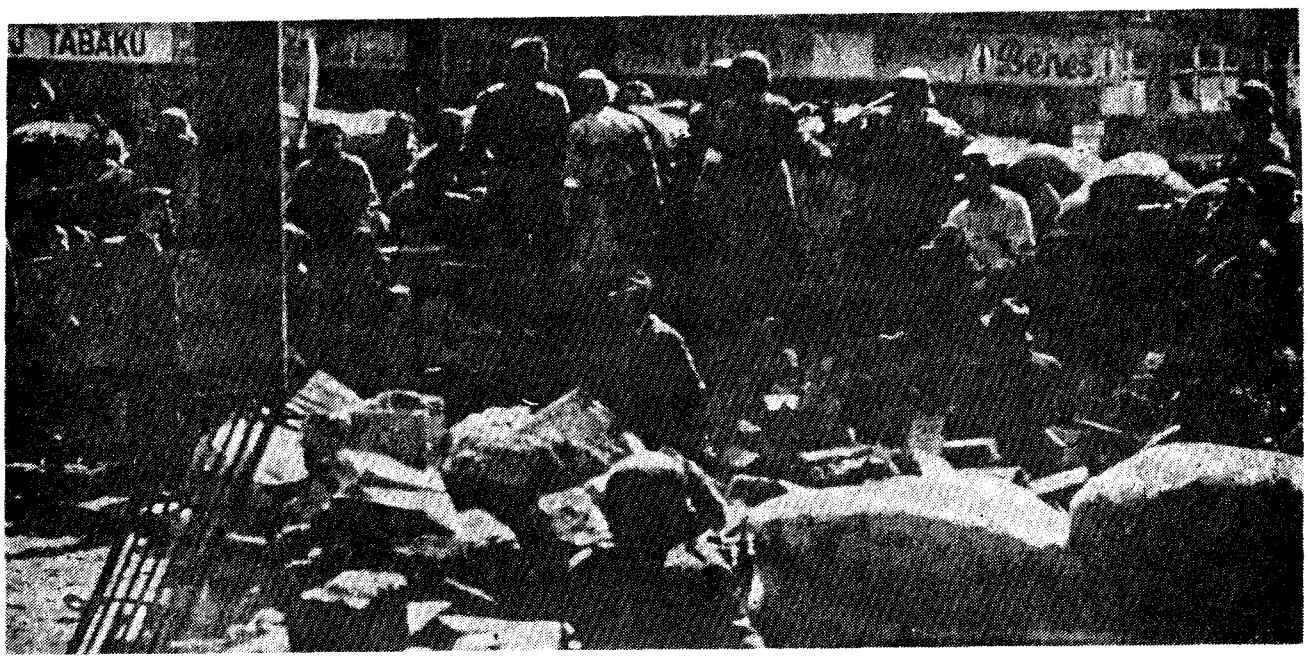
Meanwhile, plans were well advanced for the fascist take-over of the central government. The transition was anti-climatic. On October 24th there was a big fascist rally in Naples; a march on Rome was theatrically proclaimed, which was organized to begin October 29. The 14,000 fascists who were to march on Rome would have been easily dispersed by the police if the ruling class had so wished, but in any event the march proved unnecessary as Mussolini was already negotiating with the key powers in the ruling class, and on October 31, was invested as Prime Minister by the king and parliament, a peaceful transition.

Early in 1922, the ruling class had already begun to make preparations for the shift to fascism. The new Pope Pius XI fired the populist head of the Italian Catholic political party and appointed a pro-fascist. Nitti, political spokesman for the giant Banca Italiana Sconte, made a pro-fascist speech in Melfi in March. The new Facta government looked the other way as local police gave even greater service to the fascists. The Duke of Aosta moved within the royal household to silence Mussolini's critics; the same process occurred within the Vatican.

By October 1922 liberal Giollitti representing the other major Italian banking group, Banca Commerciale, likewise was also negotiating for a fascist takeover. The middle class Freemasons contributed 3-1/2 million to Mussolini; d'Annunzio and the right wing Federation of Maritime Workers came to an agreement with Mussolini.

Finally, as the crucial hours approached, on October 28-31, all the forces of the ruling class made it plain to the king and parliamentary leaders their desire for Mussolini's appointment as Prime Minister. The Pope made a pro-fascist appeal on October 28. Telegrams were received by political leaders from the heads of the General Confederation of Industry, the Confederation of Agriculture, the Bankers Association, the editor of the most influential newspaper, **Corriere della sera**, the electric billionaire, Conti, and others demanding Mussolini as Prime Minister.14 He was duly appointed on October 31, and received powers to rule by decree on November 22.

The Communist Party was forced underground almost immediately. The Socialists continued as a legal opposition for a few more years, although **Avanti** was burned down two more times before it and all other opposition newspapers were suppressed in 1926. Soon even mild anti-fascist or pro-working class parties and groups were banned and the working class was deprived of any politi-




Prague digs in for the fight against Nazi invaders.

cal spokesmen. A serious Communist Party underground did not develop until 1927.

In 1926 the trade unions were dissolved, but even before that the practice of the fascist system was shown to be violently anti-working class. All strikes were illegal; all workers had to belong to fascist trade unions whose leaders down to the shop steward level were appointed by the government, and were invariably toadies of the boss. All workers needed job passports to get work, which left them at the mercy of employers who could put comments on the passports like "militant," "red," "troublemaker."**13**

Of course, real wages declined and the consumption of meat, fruit and vegetables per capita declined, according to even the fascists' own obviously watered-down statistics. This was due to the forced lowering of the workers' standard of living. Women workers were especially hard hit by the fascist doctrine that "A woman's place is in the home." The proportion of women in the labor market decreased during the fascist years.**13**

For big business, however, the fascist years were very good years. The phony "corporate state" that the fascists introduced was nothing but a corporation state. The labor courts which replaced collective bargaining and strikes were similar to the binding arbitration with which U.S. workers are familiar. Between 1922 and 1928, the "corporate state" reduced business taxes to an absurd low, poured more taxes on workers, rescinded the squatters' rights of poor farmers, laid off 65,000 government workers including 46,000 on the state-owned railroads. Businesses were organized into 279 cartels to eliminate the small businessman and put the banks and monopolies in 100 percent control of the economy.**13** Workers' real wages were lowered even more after Mussolini won his "Battle of the Lira" in 1926. A state investment company was formed to funnel more workers' taxes into the banks and monopolies. When the depression came Fascist Italy put the burden entirely on the working class with hardly a sham of relief for the 2,000,000 unemployed.

The fascist press and educational system was geared around two objects. First glorification of the fascist corporation state as the natural order of things so that workers would accept their lot. Secondly, intense nationalism around the dreams of Mussolini to create a "Second Roman Empire." Eventually in the mid-thirties an aggressive imperialist war was launched against Ethiopia accompanied by vicious anti-African racist propaganda. After a brief war replete with terror bombings, Ethiopia was enslaved by the fascists.

In 1939 the fascist government invaded Albania, ousted the King and annexed that country to fascist Italy. In 1940 the Italian fascists joined the Nazi invasion of France, and later launched an annexationist invasion of Greece which, however, succeeded only with German military help. Finally, in 1941 the Italian fascists joined the Nazis in the invasion of the Soviet Union. A year later their best armies were destroyed, leaving Italy open to the 1943 Anglo-American invasion and the ruin of the fascists. Some 200,000 Italian soldiers never returned from Mussolini's adventurous wars.

But unlike the German Nazis, the Italian fascists were wiped out mainly by the internal working class; **Italian workers never bought Mussolini's fascist line,** and fought the fascist regime one way or the other throughout the twenty three years of fascist slavery.

The Communist Party formed the first anti-fascist underground center in Milan in January 1927; at that time the workers' paper **L'Unita** was first secretly published. Later, editions were published in other cities as well, and an underground organization was set up to distribute the paper which eventually became a daily with a circulation of tens of thousands of copies. By 1930 the CP was organizing illegal strikes, secret May Day demonstrations, and similar activities. But it was very difficult at first. The CP leadership was rounded up in 1928 and 100 imprisoned; a new leadership emerged only to be wiped out after the strikes in 1930. Between June 1930 and February 1933 five successive heads of the Communist underground were arrested, before an experienced leadership emerged that could avoid arrest for a prolonged period. The CP underground in the thirties was still modest, but its influence among workers was fairly extensive. As the war approached, anti-Nazi outbursts were organized throughout the country and in 1940 there were anti-war demonstrations and strikes.**3**

With the entry of the Soviet Union into the war in 1941 the Communist led anti-fascist movement began to expand and widen its fight against fascism, eventually wiping out Mussolini and his fascists. All the main Italian cities were liberated by the Communist-led underground and partisans, who eventuallq numbered 300,000, and not by the Anglo-American armies. On April 27, 1945 the

"Millions stand behind me."

CP captured Mussolini himself near Como and he was executed with eighteen other top fascists the next day. Thousands of other fascist functionaries were judged guilty by the partisans and given swift working class justice for their twenty-five years of crimes against the working class. Thus, a measure of retribution in the end was achieved. (We will discuss more fully the anti-fascist struggle after 1941 in a following article.)

Workers' revenge: Mussolini and mistress.

## V. THE BROWN SHIRTS

> The most reactionary variety of fascism is the German type of fascism. It has the effrontery to call itself National-Socialism, though having nothing in common with Socialism. Hitler fascism is not only bourgeois nationalism, it is bestial chauvinism. It is a government system of political banditry, a system of provocation and torture practiced upon the working class .... German fascism is acting as the spearhead of international counter-revolution, as the chief incendiary of imperialist war, as the initiator of a crusade against the Soviet Union, the great fatherland of the toilers of the whole world. — Dimitrov (written in 1934.)

In 1928, when the Nazi Party was still relatively small, with only 100,000 members and polling around 2-1/2 percent of the votes in the national election, the Communist Party of Germany (CPG) had 360,000 members, 33 newspapers, 20 printing houses, 13 parliamentary deputies, 57 deputies in state diets and some 2000 municipal and village deputies.9 It was the largest and most influential communist party outside of the Soviet Union. Yet within six years this Party, the pride of the Communist International, was virtually obliterated by the Nazi machine.

How could this come to pass? To point to the strength and boldness of the Nazis, even to point to the treachery of the revisionist Social Democrats is not an answer. It just begs the question. The CPG had two fatal weaknesses: (1) It was not based among industrial workers. For example in 1930 at the big large scale industrial plants employing 6,000,000 workers, only 10 percent of the shop stewards were in the CP-led unions; the rest were in Social Democratic (SDP) led unions. Thus 90 percent of the main industrial workers did not have communist leadership. (2) The CPG ideologically took a "live and let live" and "wait and see" approach toward Nazism. Not until the last months did the CPG attempt a national or even regional mobilization of its forces to smash the Nazis. Up to that time, generally speaking, if the Nazis didn't bother the CPG, the CPG did not bother the Nazis. Thus the Nazi Party could grow unhindered, and the CPG never learned how to fight fascism.

All this could be traced to the tragic outcome of the Revolution of 1918-1919 when the German workers led by communists overthrew the Kaiser's government and set up workers' and soldiers' councils in imitation of the Soviets in Russia. In order to stem the tide of red revolution a counter-revolutionary deal was struck between the Social Democratic Party and the Army. General Groner, chief of the general staff subsequently stated:

> On November 19, 1918 I had a telephone conversation with Ebert (head of the SDP) and we concluded an alliance to fight Bolshevism and Sovietism and restore law and order...
>
> Every day between 11:00 p.m. and 1:00 a.m. the staff of the High Command talked to Ebert on a special secret telephone. From November 10 our immediate object was to wrest power in Berlin out of the hands of the Councils of Workers and Soldiers Deputies.4

Contrary to Lenin's earnest advice the communist leaders, Karl Liebneckt and Rosa Luxemburg, refused to recognize Ebert and the SDP as counter-revolutionaries and continued to deal forthrightly with Ebert's bogus government. Ebert repaid the communist leaders' solf-heartedness by having them murdered and drowning the revolution in blood.

Since the ordinary soldiers were unreliable General Groner, Ebert and Field Marshal Hindenburg organized groups of ex-officers, NCO's students, adventurers and other riff-raff into brigades called the **Frei Corps**. It was one of these brigades that murdered Karl Liebnecht and Rosa Luxemburg. A mobilization of all the **Frei Corps** slaughtered many hundreds of workers in Munich and suppressed the Bavarian Soviet Republic. One of the **Frei Corps** adopted the swastika as its emblem at the time they launched a short-lived putsch in 1920. These brigades invariably were anti-communist and anti-Jewish.

A series of defeated communist-led worker revolutions rocked Germany between 1918 and 1921, these left their mark on the CPG. Henceforth the CPG conceded the leadership of the industrial working class to the SDP. With the end of this revolutionary period in 1922 the leadership of the CPG became shy and conservative, intent on staying within the law, neither seriously challenging the SDP leadership of industrial workers, nor the growing Nazi Party.

The SDP traitors got their rewards from the bourgeoisie. They were allowed to head the first post-war governments. But the High Command was more interested in using the **Frei Corps** experience to build a permanent counter-revolutionary force to crush **all** working class organizations. After 1920 the remnants of the **Frei Corps** became the backbone of numerous fascist parties and para-military organizations. (Some 44 percent of the Nazi members prior to 1927 had been in the **Frei Corps**.)

One virulently anti-semitic group in Munich the German Workers Party, headed by a small-time locksmith, Anton Drexler, soon attracted the patronage of Captain Rohm, a leader of the **Frei Corps** units that smashed the communist-led revolution in Bavaria in the spring of 1919. Rohm built the goon squad of the fledgling party and gave it protection through his key position in the counter-revolutionary local government.

In September 1919 a hitherto obscure propagandist for the Army's Political Department, Adolph Hitler, was ordered to join this Party.**12** His particular talents of extreme red-baiting and Jew-baiting soon won him de facto leadership in the Party which a year later changed its name to the German National Socialist Workers Party (NAZIS) and adopted the **Frei Corps'** swastika as its emblem.

Loud, arrogant, aggressive and opportunistic, Hitler implanted these characteristics to the Nazis and soon became the favorite fascist of the capitalists and army leaders in Bavaria. Various upper class fops joined and bankrolled the young party. Among them was Herman Goring, a wealthy war "hero;" and Rudolph Hess.

On November 9, 1923 Hitler, Rohm, Goring and Field Marshall Ludendorf, the number two World War I military leader headed a coalition of fascist groups that attempted to seize power from the fumbling local right-wing government in in Bavaria. Though the attempt failed and sixteen Nazis were killed, it gained Hitler and the Nazis instant notoriety and changed the Nazis from a local fascist party into a national party. Hitler and his cronies were dealt with leniently by the courts. He served only nine months, leisurely confined in pleasant quarters, during which time he dictated **Mein Kampf** to Hess.

Some time before Hitler and Hess wrote **Mein Kampf,** the major tenets of Nazism were already clear—the typical fascist mixture of petty-bourgeois demagogy and extreme nationalism. Thus the 26 point Nazi program demanded the abolition of income unearned by work (point 11), the nationalization of the big trusts (point 12), sharing of profits of big business (point 13), abolition of land rent and speculation (point 17), "communalization" of department stores (point 16), expropriation of the landed aristocracy without compensation (point 17).

But the bourgeoisie was not fooled. The fascist and nationalist demands once again gave all the assurance they needed. The first point demanded the union of all Germans in Greater Germany, essentially a call to annex Austria and parts of Czeckoslovakia, France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Poland, USSR, Switzerland, Lithuania and Italy. Other points demanded the return of Germany's colonies in Africa and the Pacific, depriving Jews of their citizenship and expelling those who had entered Germany after 1914, and a strong national authority to carry out the program.

The capitalists must have loved the Nazi program, for they financed the Nazis from start to finish. Long before the putsch of 1923, three leading Munich capitalist families began financing the Nazis; the two publishing families, Bruckman and Lehmann, as well as Bechstein, the piano manufacturer, poured money into the Nazi Party, and even supported Hitler personally.**12** But bigger fish than the local Munich bourgeoisie soon recognized the Nazi potential. As early as 1923 Fritz Thyssen, head of the Steel Trust, a man worth some $500,000,000 made his first donation to the Nazis. Although initially only $25,000**12** Thyssen kept up his investment in the Nazis; at the time he was financing some rival fascist groups as well.

Six years later with the Nazis a major national force Thyssen and Vogler, the captains of the German steel industry, became a major source of funds for the Nazis. By then the depression had hit Germany full square and the ruling class, which had before maintained a benevolent, but somewhat aloof attitude toward the Nazis, now was desperate to construct the Nazis into an all-powerful bulwark against revolution and the rapidly growing CPG. Emil Kierdof in 1929, the anti-union coal baron, organized a huge slush fund from west German mining companies for Hitler. Schacht in 1930 resigned as president of the Reichsbank, the German central bank, and devoted full time to raising money from his banker and industrial friends for the Nazis. The leaders of the potash industry, of I.G. Farben the chemical monopoly, of the biggest banks (Dresdner Bank, Deutsche Bank, Kommerz and Privat Bank), the head of the Hamburg-Amerika shipping company, the biggest insurance company, Allianz, the [illegible] rubber tycoons, von Schroeder and Wolf, the two most powerful businessmen in Cologne, the Agrarian League of Bradenbury estate-owners and noblemen, all joined Thyssen, Schacht and Kierdof in 1930-1931 in providing tens of millions for the Nazi party.**12** Thanks to these captains of industry, by 1930 the Nazis could hire 100,000 degenerates into the storm-troopers—a force larger than the Army—plus maintain hundreds of full-time party officials to operate dozens

of newspapers and finance huge parades and election campaigns.

The originator of the Nazi Party, however, was the High Command of the German Army. It was as an Army secret agent that Hitler was ordered to join the Party; it was also under Army guidance and instruction that Hitler wrote up the Nazi program. Under Army instructions Rohm brought in goons and weapons to the Nazis. Though Hitler officially resigned from the Army in March 1920 he continued to receive living expenses from secret army funds for several more years.

In December 1920, Munich area commander Major General Ritler von Epp decided that the fledgling Nazis needed a newspaper. Using secret army funds he purchased the racist sheet **Volkischer Beobachter** which became the Nazi paper, soon a daily.

After the attempted putsch of 1923, and with the receding of the "communist threat" in those years, the High Command cooled to the Nazis and stopped providing funds. But many young officers especially from noble families joined the Nazis and after 1929 Nazi influence in the Army grew to the point where three Nazi lieutenants were court-martialed in late 1930 for distributing Nazi propaganda to the troops. At the trial Hitler, called as a witness, opportunistically abandoned the lieutenants and made a speech which played up to the High Command. Thus the stage was set to resume the alliance, now on a more equal basis, between the Nazi party and the High Command that led to power three and one-half years later.

Yet it was not only the Army and the big bourgeoisie; the German Nazis had a larger popular following than any other fascist party in any country before or since. As early as 1929 there were 178,000 members of the Nazi party; by 1931 there were 800,000 Nazi members; in 1932 there were 400,000 storm-troopers and more significantly in April of that year Hitler received 13,418,547 votes for president. In the election of July 1932, the Nazi party received some 37 percent of the votes and consequently 230 out of 608 seats in parliament.

From what classes did this large Nazi support come? The original German Workers Party had few workers. One of Hitler's early speeches in November 1919 attracted a big crowd. "Unfortunately" only twenty to thirty workers, Hitler noted, but "very many students, officers, tradesmen and soldiers." The original membership list of 193 had students, officers,, doctors, engineers, independent shopkeepers and craftsmen, four factory owners, but few if any factory workers.12

In its later years the Nazis retained this class composition, White collar workers, civil servants, farmers and independent businessmen made up the bulk of the party in a 1931 study of the 500,000 members. In 1935 when there were 205 million Nazis, 20 percent were white collar workers, 20 percent self-employed, 12.5 percent civil servants and 10 percent were farmers. Well over a third of the 700,000 cadre and leaders at all levels were teachers or civil servants.6

Teachers in Germany, in particular, were rapidly won over to fascism. As early as 1936 over 32 percent of the teachers were Nazi party members and some 160,000 teachers were Nazi leaders at some level.6

But long before the Nazis had a serious following in other classes, the German universities were Nazi strongholds. Racism and patriotism were long rife and unchecked on the campuses. In 1927, five years before Nazi power, 77 percent of the students voted to exclude Jews from student government. At the 1931 congress of German and Austrian students, the Nazis obtained a clear majority. That same year 60 percent of the under-graduates supported the Nazi Student Organization, and anti-semitic riots were organized by the Nazi students. The professors were only slightly behind the students in their mass conversion to Nazism; in 1933 some 300 of the most prestigious scholars urged the voters to choose Hitler. World renowned academics like the psychiatrist Jung, the philosophers Spranger and Heidegger, the physicist Jordan, the historian von Srbit became great Nazi propagandists. Only 10 percent of the academic dons had to be dismissed by Hitler later as unreliable. (By contrast the post-war German regime had to dismiss a third as being too embarrassingly open Nazis.)6

The Nazi following came from students, teachers and intellectuals; from small shopkeepers, farmers and businessmen; from engineers, doctors and lawyers; from civil servants, policemen and white collar workers; from officers, ex-officers and career soldiers; from the big capitalists, the landed gentry and the old nobility; and from some criminal elements, desperate unemployed and scab workers. But the last groups were always a small minority of the Nazi movement.

For seven years after the abortive putsch of 1923 the Nazis engaged in mainly legal base-building type activities. There were occasional street brawls with the CPG but in the main Nazis sold their newspapers and built a base among students, teachers and other petty-bourgeois elements. There were no violent Italian-style semi-military mop-up campaigns in working class districts. For awhile the CPG and SDP were too strong for the Nazis to take head on; in the elections of 1928 the Nazis polled only 2-1/2 percent of the votes.

But after the depression of 1929 with six million unemployed, hundreds of thousands of shopkeepers ruined and armies of students without prospects, the Nazis began to win over large numbers of the petty-bourgeoisie and made some inroads even among some unemployed workers. In the elections of September 1930, the Nazis polled nearly 605 million votes and won 107 seats in Parliament.

Now the violence against the workers and the CPG steadily increased. The storm troopers now financed by the top ruling class figures battled the communists and held provocative marches through working class districts. In the summer

**Won't make the same mistake: Italian youth attack neofascists.**

of 1932 the street battles reached a climax. In the state of Prussia alone in the first 20 days of June there were 461 pitched street battles, that left 82 dead and 400 wounded. In July, 38 Nazis and 30 Communists were among the 86 killed in the streets. A Nazi march with a police escort on July 17 through a working class suburb of Hamburg, a previous Communist stronghold, left 19 dead and 285 wounded. The Communists were fighting back, but the combination of police and Nazi storm troopers had the advantage.

During these years the CPG was also growing—gaining 5,000,000 votes in the elections of March 1932; in November 1932 they gained one-sixth of the seats in parliament. But as long as a large portion of the workers were under SDP leadership, victory against the Nazis was not possible. The treacherous SDP leaders pursued a policy of "better Hitler than Stalin" and step-by-step helped pave the way for Nazi power. The SD party had long governed the state of Prussia, the largest and most industrial state in Germany. They controlled the Prussian police that cooperated with the Nazis in their street battles with the CPG.

At this point the central government began a sharp lurch to the Right in preparation for the fascist dictatorship. In 1930 the last SDP coalition government was dumped and the conservative Bruning took over, ruling by emergency decree. He promulgated the infamous Hunger Decrees that made the workers pay for the bosses' depression. All sorts of restrictions were now put on communist self-defense forces. The SDP supported Bruning in all this.

In the presidential elections of 1932 Hitler ran against the reactionary general Hindenburg. The SDP supported Hindenburg as a "lesser evil"; only the CPG put up an anti-fascist candidate. A year after his election, with SDP help, Hindenberg was to appoint Hitler as chancellor. Soon the SDP was to call for a coalition government with the Nazis. In April 1932, their leader Severing declared: "The SDP no less than the Catholic Party is inclined to see Herr Hitler's Nazis share the government responsibility." Their paper urged the government to "... allow the Nazis to come to power before they have a majority."4

In May 1932 Bruning was dismissed and two openly pro-fascist governments followed. Two cronies of Hindenberg, Baron von Papen and General von Schleicher became succeeding chancellors and paved the way for a Nazis government nine months later. The von Papen government dissolved the SDP state government in Prussia. The SDP passively accepted this and rejected CPG offers to unite in the face of the imminent fascist takeover. Under Papen and Schleicher Nazi provocations and violence reached a climax. Thereafter the barons, generals, and other nationalists began negotiations for the Nazis to enter the government directly.

In these days the Nazis commanded the streets of the downtown and petty-bourgeois sections of all major cities and constantly threatened the Communists in their working class strongholds.

Since the governments of von Papen and von

Schleicher had zero popular support, and strikes and street fighting were increasing, there were those in the Nazi organization like Rohm who began to believe their own petty-bourgeois propaganda, and called for an immediate Nazi violent seizure of power. But Hitler and most of the Nazi leaders, under the spell of Thyssen, Kierdorf and Schacht, were willing to bide their time and wait for power to come by constitutional means. By this tactic the ruling class was able to ensure the support of the SDP and the liberals for a Nazi government.

On August 1932 Goring was elected president of the Reichstag (the Parliament) with the votes of the liberals, a position he used on September 14 to bring down von Papen's government and force new elections for November. The CPG made defeating the Nazis in these elections their main strategy for preventing a Nazi government. They were slightly successful in the elections winning 11 new seats in Parliament while the Nazis lost 34 seats and 2,000,000 votes. Thaelmann, leader of the CPG blinded by this meaningless "triumph" declared: "We must insist soberly and seriously that the 14th of September was so to speak Hitler's best day; that no better will follow, but worse (for the Nazis)." This stupid statement shows how blinded the CPG had become by elections and legality: At a time of winning at the polls, they were being beaten in the streets by Nazis.

The main result of the November elections was to help the ruling class see that they had to make haste in forming a Nazi government before Nazi popular support faded. The leading generals of the High Command and leading leaders of industry and finance now made clear to Hindenberg their desire for an immediate Hitler government. Negotiations between Hitler, the conservative parties, the High Command and Hindenberg continued through December and January leading to a coalition right-wing government headed by Hitler on January 30, 1933.

The new government had four types in it: (1) big west German businessmen—the big industrialist Hugenberg had the key ministries of Economy and Agriculture; (2) old east German aristocrats —von Neurath was Foreign Minister; (3) generals of the High Command; General von Blomberg was Minister of Defense; (4) Nazis—Hitler was Chancellor and Goring was in charge of the Prussian police. As we noted above, there was virtually no change in the bureaucracy. The transition was peaceful and constitutional; Hindenberg remained president until his death a few years later. The liberal and conservative parties supported the new Hitler government. The SDP played the role of "loyal opposition." The SDP newspaper declared of Hitler's government: "They have only to act as a legal government, and it will follow naturally that we shall be a legal opposition; if they choose to use their majority for measures that remain within the framework of the Constitution, we shall confine ourselves to the rule of fair critics."4 Even the CPG took no overt action against the Hitler government, but at least showed some recognition of the new situation by belatedly sending a few of its cadre underground.

The Nazis, however, were not so muddleheaded or indecisive. They moved quickly to crush the working class. The CPG was their first victim in order to leave the workers leaderless for the onslaught that was to follow. The first act was to call for new elections again, this time for March 5th. The strategy was laid down at a meeting on February 20 with Hitler, Goring, Thyssen, Vogler, Krupp—the head of the munitions industry—the heads of I.G. Farben and about twenty other of the very top bankers and industrialists. Hitler promised his bosses to "eliminate" the Marxists. "Private enterprise cannot be maintained in the age of democracy... All the worldly goods we possess we owe to the struggle of the chosen," he declared. Goring pledged the election "will surely be the last one for ten years, probably even for the next hundred years." Then Krupp jumped up to express his "gratitude."12

All communist meetings were banned and the CPS newspapers were suppressed. Even the "loyal opposition" SDP had its meetings frequently broken up by storm troopers and its newspapers suspended. The liberal head of the Catholic Trade Unions was likewise beaten up by brownshirts. On February 24, the CPG headquarters was raided by Goring's police, but the CPG leaders had already abandoned it.

On February 28, the Reichstag building was burned down by Nazis. This was blamed by the government on the CPG and 4000 Communist officials were arrested, beaten and tortured. While truckloads of storm troopers roared through the streets, breaking into homes, arresting and beating up the opposition, while Hitler, Goring and Goebbels used every resource of the state and big business to electioneer, the bogus election took place. Despite the terror and many rigged ballots the Nazis, by their own count, got only 44 percent of the votes, while nearly 5,000,000 workers voted for the CPG.

In order to pass a measure giving Hitler dictatorial powers, by the necessary two-thirds vote, the eighty one newly elected CPG deputies and some SDPers were arrested when the new Reichstag convened on March 23; all the liberals and conservatives voted for the measure. The CPG was now formally banned. Six weeks later the SDP had its turn; the SDP party buildings and all newspapers were confiscated by the Nazis. The SDP deputies tried again to appease Hitler by voting for his foreign policy on May 19 and forming a new central committee, uncritical of the Nazis. But to no avail. On June 22 the SDP was banned. Just for good measure all other parties were dissolved by July 5, leaving the Nazis as the sole legal political formation.

Next it was the turn of the trade unions. On May 2, the trade union headquarters were occupied, unions dissolved and all union leaders arrested. Even the toady SDP union misleaders Peipart and Grassmann who the day before had sworn loyalty to the Hitler regime were arrested.

"The Leiparts and the Grassmanns may profess their devotion to Hitler; but they are better in prison," declared Dr. Ley, now the Nazi "labor leader."12 In place of the unions, the Nazis introduced the "Fuhrer principle" into the factory. Each plant had a "leader," who was, coincidentally, the owner or manager; everyone else was a "follower." The Nazi Labor Front, which all workers were forced to join, appointed a council of "plant followers" who could politely complain to the boss, but that's all. Strikes or any other industrial actions were punished by prison or even death. Even law suits by workers against management were banned. The motto of the Labor Front was "The leader (boss) is always right."6

Not surprisingly, a wage freeze was immediately put into effect. Since various compulsory deductions for the Labor Front, the Nazi Winter Relief, etc., were tacked on, workers' wages actually decreased. Meanwhile food and clothing prices sharply increased. According to even the Nazis' own obviously doctored statistics, real wages of most workers declined by 15 percent after the Nazi destruction of the CPG and the trade unions. The work week was increased by 10 percent to 49 hours in 1939, lead and zinc miners had their workday increased by 25 percent. During the war the work week was generally increased to 60 hours.

Consequently, the health of the working class—with lower real wages and longer hours—deteriorated. Accidents and illnesses connected with work increased by 150 percent between 1933 and 1939; industrial deaths increased by 250 percent in that period.

With the communists banned and the trade unions wiped out, the class conscious section of the working class was largely subdued by the end of 1933. There still remained the millions of petty-bourgeois and backward working-class forces that supported the Nazis because they believed the Nazi "anti-monopoly" slogans and demagoguery. By early 1934 these forces were demanding a "second revolution" this time against the High Command, the aristocrats and the West German billionaires that so obviously dominated the "new" Hitler government. These forces found a leader in Rohm, the head of the storm troopers, and Gregor Strasser, the number two Nazi political leader. These forces threatened disturbances in early 1934 because expropriated Jewish department stores were being turned over to the billionaire bankers instead of to "the little guy," as Hitler had once promised. Consequently, Hitler was ordered by his patrons to take action against his old Nazi "comrades" or lose the support of the High Command. On the night of June 30, 1934, more than 1000 top Nazis associated with the "second revolution" group, including Rohm, Strasser and von Schleicher were duly murdered by the S.S., Hitler's elite bodyguard. The next day von Blomberg, on behalf of the High Command, and Hindenberg, on behalf of the industrialists, each personally congratulated Hitler on these murders.12

Thus now without even a sham opposition or "loyal critics" the capitalists could build their "new Germany." The cooperatives were an easy first target. Hit by a law severely limiting price rebates, one-third of the co-ops closed down and co-op membership declined by 50 percent. A second move was to hand over to the monopolists all expropriated Jewish companies. Some state-owned enterprises were likewise handed over to big business. But the petty-bourgeois backbone of the Nazi movement bore the brunt, second only to the working class, of the insatiable greed of the billionaires. The one-man shop or mom-and-pop store had no place in the "new Germany" and were slated to be gradually eliminated. With great satisfaction the Economics Ministry in 1939 announced that 104,000 one-man workshops had been closed down since the Nazi takeover, and the trend would now accelerate. In 1940 alone 480,000 formerly small businessmen lost their businesses and became laborers.9,6

Thus competition was eliminated and industry became almost fully monopolized. According to a Frankfort financial journal, in 1933, 40 percent of Germany's industrial production was monopolistic, but this figure increased to 70 percent in 1937. Over one-third of heavy industry was now in the hands of Thyssen, Kierdorf and Vogler. Thyssen must have thought the 25,000 marks he gave Hitler fourteen years previous to be the best investment he had ever made. At the top the monopolies combined into ever more mammoth outfits. I.G. Farben controlled the entire chemical industry; in five years it grew 50 percent while its profits rose 150 percent. The Reemsta tobacco combine grew until it dominated 95 percent of the nation's cigarettes. In 1939 eleven cellulose wool companies were merged into four combines. The same concentration took place in cement, where the four regional companies were merged into one big trust in 1940. This is true for electrical (Siemens), auto (Volkswagon), potash and oil (Wintershall), etc. Between 1934 and 1938 while workers' wages fell, business and management income rose over 50 percent.6,9

With virtually all of German industry in their hands, the handful of monopolists now looked to expand all over Europe behind the Nazi army. "Today Germany, tomorrow the world," proclaimed the Nazi-industrialist chorus. On May 18, 1940, Krupp, a partner in Henkel, the detergent manufacturer, and two other industrialists listened to news broadcasts of the Wehrmacht's advance into Holland and Belgium while jabbing at a map shouting, "This one (a factory) is yours; that one there is yours; we shall have that man arrested, he had two factories..." Soon Krupp had the Dutch shipyards, Belgian metal works, a big portion of the French machine tools industry, Greek nickel mines, Yugoslav chromium deposits and iron and steel plants in the Ukraine. Wolff, Mannesman and Ballestrom had earlier taken over the major portion of Austrian industry.6,9 Thus as far as the war in Western Europe is concerned, the monopolies of

Gery and their need for expansion was the main cause.

But the war against the Soviet Union was a different thing. It was the logical consequence of the original mission of the Nazis—to build a bulwark against communism. The fantastic increase in wealth and power of the German monopolies was for them a happy fringe benefit of Nazism, **but the Nazis main mission was to destroy communism.** World War II must be seen in this context.

The benefits of Nazism went 95 percent to the handful of industrial and financial kings. But for some of the petty-bourgeois and smaller capitalists there were also fascist fringe benefits. Even while being squeezed out by the monopolies, the small businessman had all his labor problems "solved" and was thankful to the Nazis for that. The teacher was now fuhrer in the classroom and often a local "leiter" as well, and generally a stalwart fascist. For many hundreds of thousands of unemployed students and ruined small holders new jobs in the Nazi war machine, the propaganda apparatus, the Gestapo, and the S.S. opened up plenty of opportunity for advancement and corruption. The elimination of Jews from the professions and retail trade made life easier for "Arayan" professionals and traders. The officers, cops and civil servants advanced quickly as the army, police and bureaucracy each ballooned. Thus these classes did not lose much of the genuine enthusiasm for Nazism they felt in the beginning.

To line up the petty bourgeoisie solidly behind him and to begin to win over even some workers to fascism, Hitler employed chauvinism, racism, nationalism and patriotism to a degree unknown in history. And he was, at least to a degree, successful.

The egoism of the male worker was appealed to by annointing him "fuhrer" of the household by the regime. Women workers were by and large sent back to the kitchen. The old outworn chauvinist line, "keep them barefoot and pregnant," was made a matter of state policy. Prizes were given to the most "productive" (i.e., the most fertile) women while childless couples were subjected to intense pressure from the police and plant "leader."

Once the communists were in concentration camps or underground, the Jews became the object of humiliations and brutalities unprecedented in their scope in this century. Deprived of property, of jobs, expelled from schools, Jews were made the object of a series of a thousand laws and restrictions, culminating in the vicious "Crystal Night" anti-Jewish pogrom in November, 1938—a preview of the extermination camps to come three years later. The diversion of the petty bourgeoisie and backward workers with anti-semitism helped bind these classes closer to the regime that was enslaving them.

Two years after assuming power, the fascist regime was already making territorial demands on neighboring capitalist states and building an arsenal more extensive than any ever before seen. To march the nation to war in cadence, the fascists resorted to a display of nationalism, patriotism, pomp, ceremony and militarism also more extensive than any yet seen before. There were endless parades with endless flags, uniforms, marches, warlike speeches. There were incantations to the war gods, torchlit ceremonies, incessant movies glorifying war and the "nation." The professors stepped in to show how Germans were superior to others, yet somehow picked on by others; always victorious yet somehow "stabbed in the back" by Communists and Jews, etc.

The workers only partially bought this line, but the petty bourgeoisie was almost unanimously ecstatic and marched to the slaughter singing the glories of fascism.

Of the 20 million German men who marched off singing "Deutchland Über Alles," 8 million never returned, except in a box; another seven and 7.25 million were wounded. During the war 500,000 civilians and soldiers were executed for not following some fascist order or other. (This is not counting the more than 2 million executed German Jews.) In addition, there were some 2.5 million German civilians who died in the rubble of 7 million buildings and 2000 bridges and 3000 miles of railway track that was destroyed in the war. The cost to Germany alone of the fascist adventure is estimated at $270 billion.

Hitler committed suicide when surrounded by the Red Army. Goring took the same cowardly path. Hess is still in prison after 30 years. Krupp served a few months, then was released, while his son took over the Krupp enterprises, which today are bigger and richer than ever. The other patrons of Hitler—Thyssen, Vogler, Kierdorf, Wulff, etc.—went on as before the war. The same families rule in West Germany today as in Hitler's time. Only the East German landowning aristocrats were expropriated by the post-war anti-fascist government in East Germany.

As for the CPG, it trod the opposite path of the Italian Communist Party. Its tragic "wait and see" policy continued after Hitler's accession to power. Blinded by years of parliamentarism, the CPG was ideologically and organizationally unprepared for the underground life it was thrust into in 1933. This had been true for Italian Communists, as well, ten years previously. But unlike the Italians, the German Communists cautiously stayed on the defensive, constantly hoping that external factors would make their job easier. In 1934 the CPG waited and hoped for something to come out of the "second revolution." In 1936 they waited and hoped that Hitler would fail to solve the unemployment crisis. In 1938 they waited and hoped that the British bosses would call Hitler's bluff over the Czeckoslovokia crisis. In 1940 they waited and hoped for the French Army to beat the Wehrmacht. After June 1941 they waited for the victory of the Soviet Army.

In the last case they were not disappointed, but by the time that happened the CPG was too weak to be of any help. At the beginning they were strong, with over 100,000 Communists in the

Budapest liberated, February, 1945.

underground, but the cautious "wait and hope" policy isolated the CPG from the working class, turned off serious anti-fascist fighters, while the Gestapo and attrition whittled down the underground. With each dashed hope and missed opportunity, the CPG became weaker, more isolated, more demoralized and ready to be even more cautious the next time.

In March 1939 the Comintern made the following assessment of some of the weaknesses of the CPG.

> But unfortunately the Party remained far too long under the hypnotic influence of its former mass strength, counting on the rapid and easy collapse of the fascist regime. Later when it readjusted itself and adopted the course of prolonged and painstaking work in gathering together the proletarian forces and consolidating their organization, certain German Communists went to the other extreme. They failed to realize how rapidly the discontent of the masses with the fascist regime was rising and were caught unawares by the growth of the anti-fascist sentiments to be observed in recent months in Germany.8

To be sure, there were small scale demonstrations, small scale strikes, even some sabotage, and despite the Gestapo and the S.S., the CPG was maintained as an organization. But unlike Communists in the other fascist countries, the CPG grew progressively weaker and in the end played only a very minor role in the anti-fascist struggle.

This may be a harsh judgment on a party which suffered so much, but we must learn from the serious mistakes of the CPG just as we can learn from the positive achievements of other communists.

## VI. THE GREEN SHIRTS

> Bolshevism is knocking at our gates. We can't afford to let it in. We have got to organize ourselves against it, and put our shoulders together and hold fast. We must keep America whole and safe and unspoiled. We must keep the worker away from red literature and red ruses; we must see that his mind remains healthy. — Al Capone.

In Hungary one of the more virulent forms of fascism developed early as a result of the failure of the revolution in 1918 and 1919. The 1918 defeat of the Hapsburg monarchy and the small handful of barons that had ruled Hungary for centuries brought the working class, for the first time, into the streets for revolution. Inspired by the magnificent example of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the Hungarian working class, particularly in Budapest, the capital, turned to Communists to lead the revolution. In March 1919, a united front of working class forces, including the untrustworthy social democrats but under the leadership of the Communist Party, seized power and declared a Hungarian Soviet Republic. For five months the heroic Hungarian workers fought at great odds against the old ruling class, the new capitalists, the petty bourgeoisie, and expeditionary armies from Czechoslovakia, Rumania and France intent on crushing the communists.

The working class held power in Budapest and many other districts of Hungary. But the powerful forces arrayed against them, the betrayal of the social democrats and the vacillations of Bela Kun and other communist leaders were the chief factors that led to the defeat of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In August 1919 the Rumanian capitalist army, the French Army and a Hungarian "National Army" under right wing Admiral Horthy crushed the Hungarian Soviet Republic in a vast blood bath.

At Szeged in the south, Horthy formed the Szeged committee which hired "officer detachments" to wipe out Communists. In November the Rumanians and French withdrew turning the nation over to Horthy's army, which organized special courts to hang or imprison communists and other militant workers, and also incited pogroms to kill communists and working-class Jews on sight. In the white terror of 1919-1921 at least 1600 Communists, militants and Jews were executed and 100,000 put in concentration camps.7

The Szeged committee or the Hungarian Social Association with 10,000 secret clubs throughout Hungary served as the fascist organization at this point. But as the white terror subsided, the fascists lost their influence in the government, and a coalition of conservative noblemen from the countryside, and Jewish bankers and industrialists from Budapest ruled the country under Count Bethlen and Admiral Horthy. A deal was struck on December 22, 1921 with the social democrats, who were allowed to organize in the

city of Budapest only. In return the SDP promised to "cooperate with the Hungarian Foreign Ministry" and to "adopt the Magyar (Hungarian "race") standpoint" and to "carry on active propaganda on behalf of Hungary." However, all trade unions were outlawed and the Communist Party was outlawed.4

The SDP-Jewish capitalist-feudal landlord agreement left the fascist officer detachments and secret societies out in the cold temporarily. These forces reorganized in 1923 under one Gyula Gombos, who had been active during the white terror as "Supreme Leader" of a small fascist party. He was viciously anti-Jewish and anti-communist. Gombos founded a Party of Racial Defense and established contact with Mussolini in Italy. An early attempted coup failed, but Horthy intervened to prevent Gombos from being imprisoned.

The program of Gombos was the typical fascist mixture of vague "land reform" and vaguer yet "justice for the poor" with extreme racism directed against Jews and with fervent nationalist appeals to "regain ancient Hungarian rights" by dismembering Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

The government of Hungary in the twenties and early thirties was already semi-fascist in that the working class was deprived of any legal rights. There were no trade unions and communists were hunted down, imprisoned and tortured. Moreover, the government leaders were all outspoken anti-semites and unabashed racists, and they periodically made nationalist demands on neighboring countries.

The Gombos fascists' quarrel with the government was ostensibly that the government did not go far enough in its persecution of the workers, in its anti-semitism, nationalism and militarism. But the quarrel had deeper roots. With over 90 percent of banking and industry in the hands of Jewish capitalists and the countryside divided into feudal estates where serfdom often still existed, the rising Hungarian bourgeoisie had no place to go. The Hungarian capitalists supported the fascists in the expectation that the fascists would open up opportunities for them at the expense of Jewish capitalists, rural feudal lords and neighboring capitalists, as well as sit even harder on the working class.

In the crisis of 1930-1932, with unemployment at 40 percent and with massive evictions of peasants and serfs from the rural estates, the fragile capitalist financial structure was on the verge of collapse. The underground Communist Party organized strikes and demonstrations. Once again the working class demonstrated in the streets. Fearing a new Hungarian Soviet Republic, the Jewish capitalists came to a quick agreement with their Hungarian counterparts. They poured money into the fascist parties, financed a big fascist propaganda campaign, and in 1931 forced out Bethlen, the representative of the rural aristocracy. The fascists on their part downplayed for a time the anti-semitic aspect of their program. On October 1, 1932, in the face of the resurgence of working class militancy, the Jewish and Hungarian capitalists achieved unity. Horthy was induced to appoint Gombos as prime minister; the fascist state was achieved.

Unlike his counterparts in Germany and Italy, Gombos achieved power with only a miniscule mass base. Basically his party was the puny bastard of the union of Jewish and Hungarian capital. But with the resources of government and the finances of his new patrons Gombos organized at least all the trappings of a mass fascist movement. He hired 60,000 green-shirted thugs to be his "Advance Guards" organized to beat up and terrorize workers, break up strikes and hunt down Communists. Gombos himself became the "leader" and in 1935 made the pilgrimage to Berlin to learn from Hitler and Goring, promising them that a "new" Hungary would be built modeled along the lines of the "new" Germany. But the "leader" died in bed in October 1936, with his "great work" still undone and leaving no clear cut fascist heir, and as yet no mass base for fascism in Hungary.

Once again the capitalist bosses started squabbling, and a succession of fascist nonentities became prime minister one after the other under Horthy's regency. The government drew closer to Nazi Germany, eventually signing a military pact in January 1939, with the Nazis and in 1938 promulgating anti-semitic laws in imitation of the German Nazis. However, no move was made to touch the property of the twelve Jewish families that still controlled 90 percent of finance and industry. The Hungarian fascist government joined Germany, Italy and Japan in the Anti-Comintern Pact. In June 1941, Hungary joined the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. Some 200,000 Hungarian fascists fought at the battle of Stalingrad, where they suffered the same crushing blows as their Nazi allies. Over 140,000 Hungarian soldiers, 280,000 Hungarian civilians and 550,000 Hungarian Jews were killed during World War II. A total of 1,000,000 dead in a nation of only 10,000,000—a very high price to pay for fascism.

The Hungarian fascists under Horthy were loyal allies of Hitler until the bitter end, but Hitler himself was never satisfied with the Hungarian fascist regime after the death of Gombos. He wanted a mass-based fascist party modeled on German lines. In 1937 German Nazi interest and money flowed to one Ferencz Szalasi and his Arrow Cross Party. The Arrow Cross came about as an amalgamation of several rival Nazi and fascist parties that had maintained a precarious existence while Gombos had been head of the government, But until 1937 the Arrow Cross and its precursors were very small. In April of 1937, however, the Arrow Cross had 16,000 members and grew rapidly attaining 300,000 by 1939 as officers, lawyers, professionals, civil servants, small shopkeepers, small peasants—including a number of disgruntled former SDP workers—flocked to the Arrow Cross. However, according to an Arrow Cross official estimate, 17 percent

of the membership were army officers.7

The old conflict between the Horthy fascists representing the Jewish capitalists and rural landlords and the Szalasi-Arrow Cross fascists representing Hungarian capitalists now came to a head when Horthy had Szalasi arrested in 1938. The German Nazis were displeased, but vacillated between the pragmatic advantages of supporting Horthy and their ideological affinity to Szalasi. In March 1939, Nazi Germany dismembered Czechoslovakia, handing over the Ruthenia region to fascist Hungary; Horthy then signed the anti-Comintern Pact. In August, 1940 2.5 million former Rumanians and 50,000 square km, of Rumanian territory in the region of Transylvania were likewise handed to fascist Hungary by the Nazis. In return Horthy released Szalasi from prison.

But the two fascist cliques in Hungary fluctuated in strength throughout the war with Horthy remaining dominant until the German Army entered Hungary on March 18, 1944. And it was not until October 16, 1944 that Szalasi and the Arrow Cross finally took power. This episode lasted only a few months because the Red Army was already on Hungarian soil. As the mighty columns of workers and Communists advanced on Budapest, the Hungarian Communist Party led the workers in that city to overthrow fascists of both varieties and to establish a socialist Hungary. Szalasi was executed by the workers; Horthy managed to escape to Portugal where, protected by fascist Salazar he lived until 1957.

But in the year preceeding liberation the Horthy and Szalasi fascists had already done their foulest deed—the genocide of 550,000 Hungarian Jews. By the beginning of 1944, with the Red Army advancing rapidly from the East and the German S.S. getting more desperate in the West, the twelve Jewish families, the real rulers of fascist Hungary up to that time, began to see nothing but catastrophe staring them in the face. Therefore, they cleverly negotiated their way out of this quandary by means of an incredible deal with Adolph Eichmann (head of the Jewish extermination division of the S.S.), Horthy and Szalasi. In return for safe passage to British-held Palestine for the twelve families, a quantity of jewelry and other valuables, and also safe passage for a few thousand other prominent Jews and young Zionists —"the best biological material"—the Jewish "leaders" turned over the industries and banks to the Hungarian capitalists, and agreed to lead the remaining working class and lower middle class Jews into the Nazi extermination camps.7

The deal was made: One Kastner, head of the Jewish "Rescue Committee" and after the war an Israeli official, was in charge of the round-up and transfer of the 550,000 Jews. Only forty eight Germans were involved in this episode. Some 20,000 of Horthy's police were used in the round-up, but with the Red Army lines only 30 miles away, with a strong Communist underground in Budapest, with neighboring Yugoslavia almost entirely in the hands of Communist-led partisans

East meets West--
Hirohito and unidentified rat.

and even neighboring fascist Rumania offering asylum to Jews, resistance and/or escape would have been relatively easy had there been a fighting Jewish leadership.7 But the leadership was in the hands of fascists and Zionists in the Jewish Council, and they were intent on keeping their bloody bargain with Eichmann and Horthy. Kastner, who had actually been given a personal tour of the Auschwitz extermination camp by the S.S., personally assured thousands of Jews that they were going to pleasant work places in the West.* Only in Budapest, Communist-influenced Jewish workers saw through Kastner's rubbish and resisted; almost all of Budapest's Jews were saved from the extermination camps. But the others, some 550,000, three-quarters of Hungary's Jews, were murdered in 1944 by the Nazi-Horthy-Zionist combo.7

## VII. FASCISM IN PORTUGAL AND JAPAN

Conquistador a vulture sits on your silver shield,
And in your rusty scabbard now the sand has taken seed...
And though you came with sword held high,
You didn't conquer, only die.
—Procol Harum

The Portugal of the early 1920's was marked by great upheaval. The Portuguese working class was just coming into its own as industrialization

* This whole sordid episode is massively detailed by Ben Hecht in *Perfidy*. Some years after the war a small Israeli newspaper published these incredible facts. Kastner, a high Israeli official, brought the publisher up on a libel suit. During the trial the whole sordid story was laid out in open court. Kastner was forced to resign and later assassinated by an outraged Israeli. The anonymity of the twelve families, however, was protected by the Israeli rulers. The information in the book *Perfidy* was obtained from the court records of this Israeli trial, and is also fully backed by the cited Hoover Institute Study.7

and large-scale manufacturing had come late to Portugal. There were many violent strikes of the workers seeking trade-union organization and a measure of improvement in their medieval standard of living. There were also mutinees in the armed forces, many soldiers having been influenced by the revolutionary current coming from the U.S.S.R. At the top there was great corruption and decadence and some forty three revolving-door governments in the sixteen years of the republic (1910-1926). But for all this there existed no mass based communist party to lead the working class to victory.

In 1926 a junta of right-wing generals and admirals overthrew the republic and proclaimed a military dictatorship. They immediately dissolved the trade unions in order to crush the newborn workers' movement. The press likewise was dissolved; all information came from the military.

Since these generals couldn't walk and chew gum at the same time, the brains behind the new dictatorship became one Salazar, a right-wing economics professor, turned finance minister. He became prime minister in 1932. Fascism became full-blown in Portugal in 1933 when Salazar proclaimed his "new state."

The "new state" of Salazar turned out to be a replica of the "new Italy" and was likewise said to be based on papal encyclicals. All strikes were outlawed. Communists were outlawed. A secret police was formed to hunt down Communists and militants and to enforce the weird medieval obscurantism of the regime.

But unlike his counterparts in Germany and Italy, neither Salazar nor his regime evoked any popular support, even from the peasants or petty-bourgeoisie. The regime existed by means of sheer terror: murder, torture and prisons. The ruling big capitalists, the military officers and other instruments of repression were the only base of support the regime ever had. Because the dictatorship existed on so slender a thread and also because the top capitalists in Portugal had had historical ties to British financiers Salazar did not enter World War II on the side of his idols, Hitler and Mussolini. He instead maintained a pro-Axis neutrality, and was thus able to survive Hitler's debacle, becoming after the war a respected member of the U.S.-led anti-Communist alliance, NATO. (The third and final article in this series will discuss recent events in Portugal; also see the article on Spain and Portugal in the December **PL** magazine.)

Although Portugal was a small and backward country and Japan was a powerful imperialist country, events in Japan and Portugal followed virtually the same path. Like Portugal, Japan industrialized late and—as in Portugal—the first big wave of working class action shook Japan in the 1920s. As in Portugal the ruling liberals were so blatantly corrupt and unstable that they virtually invited a fascist takeover.

The Communist Party of Japan (CPJ) was founded in 1922 and quickly gained influence in the rising working class movement of that time. But numerically the party remained small, seldom taking advantage of its leadership in strikes and industrial actions to build the party. The CPJ became enamored of the false idea of a "cadre party." Thus when the depression threw 3 million Japanese workers onto the streets, the CPJ was too small to lead the assault on the liberal capitalists. Instead it was the fascist secret societies who were better at basebuilding than the CPJ, and who attacked the corrupt liberal establishment.

Nearly a dozen serious fascist secret societies were formed in Japan after 1922. They shared a similar program of anti-Communism and nationalism. They vied with one another to curry the favor of the ruling class, but often cooperated and often had interchangeable memberships. These societies were more exclusive than the European fascist parties, seldom attracting workers or peasants. Young officers, often from a petty-bourgeois background, were generally in the majority, although ruling class figures were the leaders. Under the threat of the 1931 crisis, most fascist secret societies merged into the Greater Japan Production Party which held mass meetings, parades and other circuses, putting forth a blend of racism, nationalism, militarism and anti-communism.

The most influential tool of the fascists turned out to be the Teikoku Zaigo Gunjinhai (TZG), an ex-serviceman's association with 3 million members. The TZG was for various reasons far more influential than corresponding veterans' organizations in other countries. The TZG had more mass influence than the CPJ and the social democrats combined. Thus when the Kokuhonsha fascist secret society gained control of the TZG in 1932, it signaled the downfall of liberalism and a serious defeat for the working class movement. That year TZG chieftain General Araki became War Minister; he rapidly increased his power and became the most important man in the government. The Kokuhonsha had 100,000 members by 1936. Its program was, first, crushing of the communist movement; second, expansion at the expense of China and the U.S.S.R.; third, large-scale military rearmament; fourth, anti-Chinese and anti-Korean racism, plus a lot of religious-national shrine-emperor worship hokum. The ruling class clearly loved the program. The Kokuhonsha had been financed since 1926 by the mammoth Mitsui bank and the other Mitsui companies. The national police and military fed cadre and provided protection for the Kokuhonsha along the way. When the Kokuhonsha took over the TZG, the seven Kokuhonsha members involved in the leadership consisted of four generals and three admirals.

Japanese politics in the thirties followed a weird pattern of assassinations, coups, counter-coups, plots and counter-plots. Araki himself fell in 1934 but other fascist military men followed. However, there was never any clear-cut "führer" or "duce." Although after October 1941 Tojo was the most powerful figure, personality cultism had

always been centered on the figurehead Emperor Hirohito, and this continued. The fascist chieftains preferred to act as behind-the-scenes bosses, and the real rulers of Japan were the close-knit Zaibatsu of financiers and industrialists, Mitsui, Sumitomo, Mitsubishi and a few others.

The policy of the fascist rulers centered on anti-communism and racist expansionism. The small CPJ was ruthlessly hounded in Japan and its members subjected to prison and torture. The working class press was, of course, banned, but even the big liberal dailies were "convinced," after losing a number of editors and owners to beatings and assassinations, to fully transform themselves into fascist sheets. Expansionist threats were made against the Soviet Union in the late 1930s. Here the fascists could combine anti-communism with expansionism. But a desultory war with the U.S.S.R. at Kahlkin Gol ended poorly for the Japanese fascists, and they wisely turned their attention to more vulnerable victims.

In 1931 the Japanese fascists invaded and occupied the Kirin and Liaoning provinces of northeast China. From there they initiated the bloodiest series of conflicts that were to form part of World War II. Fourteen years later the Japanese fascists lay prostrate, beaten by a combination of forces, the most important of which was the Chinese Red Army led by the Chinese Communist Party. The fascists, however, wisely chose to surrender to the more lenient U.S. imperialists. And except for the execution of Tojo and an extremely small handful of murderers, the fascist cliques did not pay for their crimes. The Zaibatsu lost their overseas empire, but kept all their home wealth and fared well enough economically in the post-war period. The Japanese people, on the other hand, paid dearly for fascism: 1,900,000 Japanese soldiers were killed in the fighting; 659,000 civilians died in the most horrible terror bombings in history. Many cities including Tokyo were destroyed by U.S. fire bombs; Hiroshima and Nagasaki were wiped out by U.S. atom bombs.

The CPJ resisted the fascist march to war. Although without a large mass base they fought the initial occupation of northeast China by holding demonstrations, anti-war strikes by workers and anti-war actions by some soldiers and sailors. Again in 1937 when the war intensified, the CPJ fought even harder. The CPJ, though not large, was the only anti-fascist fighting force in Japan during the war, but its previous weakness of not becoming a mass party prevented the CPJ from having a decisive impact on the defeat of fascism. The blows that liberated the Japanese working class from fascism were essentially external.

## VIII. CONCLUSIONS

In the period 1919 to 1934 the working class in the five countries dealt with in this article suffered severe and crushing defeats. The costs to the communist movement and the physical costs to the working class which we enumerated were enormous. After 1934 the international communist movement led the workers of the world to begin a serious all-out effort against fascism. Although strategic mistakes were made and consequently more defeats lay ahead, the issue could never be in doubt and ultimately communists crushed the fascists. (Our next article in this series will deal with this period.)

However, why did we have to suffer such defeats as in Italy, Germany, Hungary, etc.? We have dealt with the strengths of fascism sufficiently. To summarize, they are: (1) the all-out financial and political support of the ruling class; (2) the close help of the military and the police; (3) the ease with which unstable petty-bourgeois tradespeople and intellectuals are won over to fascism; (4) the conscious or unconscious aid of liberals and revisionists; (5) the typical set of bold, aggressive and opportunist men in leadership of the fascist groups not incapable of serious basebuilding among the people. But the strengths of fascism are not primary; the weaknesses of the workers' movement and particularly the communists more explain the rise to power of the fascists. Here we will point to a few lessons communists can draw from the tragic experience of 1919-1934. These are lessons written with the blood of millions.

**FIRST LESSON:** It is necessary to understand the nature and purposes of fascism. Fascism is the unrestricted rule of the big bourgeoisie, the biggest bankers and industrialists. Fascism is 100 percent in their interests and is entirely **their** show. Successful fascist movements are often able to win over large masses of small traders, small farmers, small capitalists, intellectuals, police, military, professionals and even a few backward workers. This may occur but does not change the nature of the beast. The petty bourgeoisie may march to the tune of the fascist piper, but the big bourgeoisie pays the piper and calls the tune.

**SECOND LESSON:** Fascism is the natural governmental form that corresponds to a decaying and moribund monopoly capital; communists have to understand this fact and not wish for a return to liberal democracy. A multi-party system of checks and balances with local autonomy and a limited freedom for working class parties is a governmental form that corresponds to competitive expanding capitalism. Fascism is a governmental form that corresponds to decadent monopoly capitalism. **Only socialism is a viable alternative to fascism.**

**THIRD LESSON:** There can be no place for liberalism in the anti-fascist movement. The liberal leaders willingly or unwillingly pave the way for fascist power; they cannot be part of an anti-fascist force.

Moreover, the communist party can have no illusions in the institutions of liberal democracy, the courts, the legislature, the media, the universities, the cultural centers. These are already in the process of transforming themselves into fascist institutions. This transformation is often not obvious but it is occurring inexorably. The

flaming liberal senator or judge of today is the fascist functionary of tomorrow. The anti-fascist forces must put no credence on the liberal facade of the various capitalist institutions, the facade can change overnight. Communists instead must depend on the fighting force of organized workers. Illusions in the liberal democracy or in the importance of electoral "victories" of Germany and Italy blinded communists to the process of fascization that was being completed beneath the surface.

**FOURTH LESSON:** The revisionists and social democrats who pretend to Marxism, but are really just common liberals are the fascists' most reliable allies within the working class movement. These misleaders of the working class must be swept aside in order to beat back the fascist assault. The history of fascism in Germany, Italy and Hungary shows that the revisionists, at best, worked overtime to foster illusions in liberal institutions among the working class. At worst the revisionists entered into out-and-out counter-revolutionary "peace pacts" or even alliances with the fascists to attack the communists. These traitors have no place in the anti-fascist movement; they are the enemy within and they must be defeated in order to defeat fascism. The ideas of revisionism—i.e. faith in liberal democracy, etc.—may also find their way into the communist party; these ideas are the ideas of defeat and must be fought against inside the party with the same vigor as employed against the fascist enemy.

**FIFTH LESSON:** The battle against fascism is a violent one. The communist party that fights fascism only through elections, petitions, court cases, academic debate, etc., is headed for sure defeat. Fascist violence and provocation have to be met with working class violence. Even the tactic of a general strike in the face of a fascist assault may prove to be too mild—as the Italian experience shows. Fascist parades should be broken up, their meetings violently dispersed, their headquarters sacked, and their racist agitators beaten up. The fight against fascism is a matter of life and death; to insist on only legal weapons is to invite certain disaster. Any mercy we show to the fascist dogs would not be repaid in kind if the shoe were on the other foot. Naturally, under these circumstances the Party is primarily an illegal organization. The Party must be organizationally as safe as possible and ideologically as prepared as possible to continue the struggle when bourgeois democracy changes to terroristic fascism.

**SIXTH LESSON:** A vigorous all-out fight on every aspect of racism that exists under the liberals is the best defense against fascism. The fascists feed and grow fat on racism like a pig feeds and grows fat on garbage. To the extent that communists can remove racist garbage from society, to that extent the fascist pigs will be stunted in their growth. Had the German CP made fighting anti-semitism a crucially prime tenet of their program, things might have been much more difficult for the Nazis. The same could be said for the Hungarian CP; also for the Italian CP with respect to anti-Yugoslav racism; for Portuguese communists with respect to the colonies in Africa; for Japanese communists with respect to anti-Korean racism.

**SEVENTH LESSON:** A Communist party that is infected with liberalism, revisionism, pacifism and racism won't defeat fascism no matter how big it is—witness the experience of the CPG. On the other hand a **small** party that is 100 percent correct won't defeat fascism either. A large mass based party with strong ties to the industrial working class is essential in this fight. Only by pitting the majority of the workers against the fascists can we win; a small group no matter how correct, won't succeed.

To defeat fascism there must be a revolutionary communist party. There must be such a party, built according to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism; able to apply the science of Marxism-Leninism to the contemporary class struggle; willing to persevere in the truth through serious study and political struggle, criticism and self-criticism.

There must be such a party with a large working class membership closely linked, through daily on-the-job class struggles, to the majority of the working class. There must be such a party organized to operate legally, if possible, but **primarily** as an illegal organization.

There must be such a party that fights racism with all its strength, day in, day out; that fights pacifism and teaches the working class how to use violence to defeat our enemies; that fights revisionism, liberalism and other defeatist ideas of the enemy; that exposes and never unites with the disguised agents of the bourgeoisie, the revisionists, the liberal mis-leaders, trotskyites, etc.

Such a party will surely defeat fascism, go on to overthrow the capitalist system altogether, and construct a beautiful socialist future.

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(This is the first of a three-part article.)

# PELLAGRA

# The Politics of Disease and Biological Thinking

Pellagra is a capitalist disease.

This may appear to be a strange if not wild charge. It is more customary to think that the cause of disease is a single cell, a virus, or a factor of genetic inheritance. The dominant thrust of bio-medical research and the practice of medicine reinforce this notion. Researchers exert themselves primarily to discover the single cell or the virus that is at fault in a given illness, then work methodically to develop a "magic bullet" to destroy the offending agent. Doctors offer us primarily these "magic bullets," if they are available, to overcome our ailments—otherwise, it's aspirin, rest, and tranquilizers.[1]

A good deal of research and medical practice concentrates on genetic origins. Here, fewer "magic bullets" are available and more attempts at engineering and counselling: Don't marry, don't have children—not much more "help." The view is that if the illness is genetic in origin, little can be done, at least at present. Heredity has condemned the genetically ill to a hopeless future. And finally, the press and other mass media popularize this single-cell, viral, genetic approach.

The approach is extremely limited and mechanical and is ultimately grounded in the political philosophy and the scientific methods of capitalist society.[2] It fails to take into account the dialectical interaction of the material conditions produced by society's class structure, material conditions that form the context in which disease develops. But the approach of dialectical and historical materialism is quite a different approach. It views disease, even where triggered by a single cell, a virus, or a genetic factor, as the interaction of a number of factors, meaning that cures are not limited to shooting people full of magic drugs or genetic counselling. It stresses prevention by manipulating and changing environment in line with sound medical knowledge and cure by the same means [3]

Even where scientists are willing to attribute a disease to society, and quite a few scientists have done solid and useful work in this direction, they tend to back away from naming the cause accurately and precisely. "**Social disease**" becomes the general label, not "**feudal**" or "**capitalist disease.**" Committed though they are to the inescapable conclusions of the evidence, they are not yet ready to go beyond the abstract and, therefore, innocuous and immobilizing word "social." The term belongs among such other abstractions as "public," "social welfare," "people's justice," "public interest," "people's peace," "people's democracy"—terms that are the typical vocabulary of liberal and revisionist socialist politicians who, thereby, blur a clear vision of political reality.

But with pellagra, no euphemism can change its origins. The disease was unknown in tribal society. It was unknown in the slave societies of antiquity. It did not occur under feudalism. Only after capitalism achieved economic and political dominance in the world market did pellagra show up. And it reached plague proportions only in the latter part of the nineteenth and first third of the twentieth centuries, laying waste to farm workers, sharecroppers, factory hands, and the oppressed poor. Pellagra is, then, not simply a social disease; it is clearly a capitalist disease. Scientific accuracy alone ought to motivate scientists

to apply more precise labels.

The first diagnoses of pellagra were made in 1735 by Dr. Gaspar Casal, a physician from Oviedo in the Asturias section of Spain. Casal recorded many cases of peasants suffering from severe skin irritation, diarrhea, and mental disorder. In 1771, an Italian doctor, Francisco Frapolli, reported an epidemic of the disease among agricultural workers in the neighborhood of Milan. The disease next appeared in France, where by 1829, it reached alarming levels. As the nineteenth century rolled on, the disease spread elsewhere: to Austria, Hungary, the Balkans; after the 1850s to Egypt where by the 1890s it could be found up and down the Nile, but more rampant along the lower Nile. The first ascertained cases in the United States were reported between the years 1883-89. By 1909, it was noted throughout a major portion of the South and also in such states as New York, Pennsylvania, and Kansas. Thereafter, pellagra increased in severity in the United States in every single year until 1930.[4]

## RELATIONSHIP OF CORN

Why? Why only after the first quarter of the eighteenth century does the disease occur and why does it go on increasing in severity through the first third of the twentieth century? Almost all early observers of the disease noted that it occurred where corn had become a major crop of cultivation and consumption. Goethe, the famous German poet, on his first trip to Italy wrote: "I believe that their (the peasants) unhealthy condition is due to their constant diet of maize and buckwheat, or as they call them, yellow polenta and black polenta."[5] Graphing the time, place, and increasing severity of pellagra shows how right Goethe and the early observers were in their belief. It reveals clearly the connection between political-economy and health: as corn became the dominant agricultural product in one place after another, pellagra followed as a major affliction of the peasants and workers who ate it.

Corn malnutrition then, the first scientists to encounter the disease concluded, lies at the bottom of the problem. Later bio-medical scientists followed with the same conclusion, based on newer evidence made available through their research. Some attributed the cause to corn that had gone bad or had been stored under wet conditions and gotten moldy or become infected with fungi. Others thought that it resulted from a diet that relief heavily on any kind of corn, good or bad, for too long a time. In 1937-38, scientists finally established that it resulted from a deficiency of niacin, one of the B vitamins; they also strongly suspected the deficiency of the amino acid trytophan, a necessary procursor for the body's biosynthesis of niacin. Corn is almost absolutely deficient in both.

But here we come to the crux of the two approaches to disease mentioned before—the narrow, mechanical, ahistorical one and the environmental-dialectical, interactionist class approach. Corn, just as niacin deficient, had been produced and eaten before the eighteenth century. It was the staple product of pre-Columbian tribal society. But pre-Columbian culture experienced no pellagra. Why? Because native Americans prepared their corn meal differently and added other foodstuffs to their maize consumption.

Although it is not known for certain, more than likely, it was Columbus who brought back samples of corn to Spain in 1493. Notwithstanding precisely when and with whom corn came to the Old World, documents of the time show it to have been grown in Europe for two hundred years before the eighteenth century. Yet it never caused any outbreaks of pellagra.

Niacin deficiency became a destructive force only after capitalist economy had established itself as the dominant economy of the world, affecting not only commerce, but industrial and agricultural production. Only then did the cultivation of corn become economically profitable and indeed necessary for the expansion of capital. Corn is a high-calorie food. A little bit goes a long way to fill a belly. It is, then, a cheap food. In a system of wage exploitation—capitalism—the key to profit is keeping wages as low as possible for as many workers as can be employed in the making of as many commodities as the market will bear.[6] Cheap food for the working class is a prime necessity to industrial capitalism.

By the eighteenth century, moreover, European landlords were no longer primarily feudal. They had become essentially agricultural capitalists interested in cash crops. Their relationship to the peasants was essentially capitalist: peasants were workers receiving wages for their work or paying ground rent for the plots they cultivated on their own. That the wages and rent frequently took the form of payment in kind should not obscure the character of the relationship. The amount of payment in kind discharged a monetary value owed and that was determined by contract and the labor-time expended, not feudal obligation. The agricultural capitalist also needed cheap food with which to pay his workers. So corn for calories and corn for cash became the pattern after the beginning of the eighteenth century.[7]

The struggles over the Corn Laws in England during the 1830s and 1840s were all about the price of corn. The landlord capitalists wanted to maintain high tariffs to prevent United States corn from flooding the market. They wanted to sell as much corn as possible at the highest price possible. Their wage bill was not as extensive as that of the industrialist. Only a small part of the crop needed to go to fill the bellies of their workers. Even at high prices, corn was the cheapest food to feed them, therefore, maintaining a high tariff meant more profit for them. The industrial capitalists had an extensive wage bill; they employed many more workers, they made no profit from the sale of corn,[8] but only from keeping wages low; therefore, they wanted United States corn, which, because of its high yield, cost much less than English corn. By 1846, the industrial capitalists,

with the political aid of the working class, won the battle, and corn at the cheapest prices began to flood the world market.

By 1909, corn had become the principal crop of the United States: "Last year it was worth nearly as much as the great crops of cotton, hay and wheat combined," reported the Agricultural Commissioner of South Carolina to a 1909 National Conference on Pellagra. "It amounts to over two and a half billion bushels, out of three and a quarter billions in the whole world, and represents wealth... of over a billion and a half dollars."[9] Of course, farm and mill workers saw little, if any of this billion and a half dollars.

Among the wages of such profit was pellagra, and the penalty was suffered not by the sinners, but the exploited poor. In 1938, 400,000 sharecroppers, field laborers, mill hands, and other poor succumbed to the disease; where the diet remained basically corn the death rate ran as high as 69%; and 10% of all institutionalized mental patients were pellagrins. Most of the 400,000 victims lived in the South.

Today pellagra is practically unknown in the United States. It still persists on a large scale in Egypt, India, and South Africa—mainly among the Bantus, who, as a consequence of the brutal, racist exploitation of them by the South African ruling class, live frequently at lower than subsistence levels.

There are some important political and biomedical lessons here. The final conquest of the disease in the United States occurred in 1943, during World War II. It came after many years of agitation by workers and scientists for a better diet for workers, a demand that reached its highest pitch during the Great Depression. It came after the discovery of how to synthesize niacin, and after World War II imposed the need on the United States ruling class for a reliable labor force and citizen army, which meant among other things a labor force and army free of debilitating illnesses. For the ordinary citizen, for the working class, for communists and many socialists the war meant fighting fascism. For these reasons the capitalists were forced to concede some progressive policies, including beneficial health measures. To the United States ruling class, the war meant the chance to become the unrivalled, for nearly a quarter of a century, leading exploiter of the world. This imperialist aim of the war also forced the capitalists to behave more progressively with regard to health problems.

As long as capitalism exists, it opts for the cure and prevention of the diseases it spawns only if politically pressured by the demands of workers and scientists, and then only if a cheap way of effecting the cure and prevention is available, a way that still allows for the profitable operation of agriculture and industry. And even then not until the exigencies of maintaining and extending the profit system, as in the case of World War II, force it to. The irony is that the amount of suffering and the number of lives saved among working people by the conquest of pellagra were more than matched by the amount of suffering and death experienced by working people in the war itself.

The synthesizing of niacin provided the cheap way of conquering pellagra. Niacin is easily added to corn products to make up for the deficiency. Other ways of curing and preventing the disease are possible though, and were used before we ever knew how to synthesize niacin. By 1912, Dr. Joseph Goldberger had demonstrated beyond doubt that pellagra could be treated effectively and avoided by adding other foods to the diet. Even before this fact was established with certainty, workers took the political road, and a militant one at that, to improve their diet. In 1880 in Italy, peasants struck for higher wages, motivated by the poor quality of their diet and the high incidence of pellagra. In 1885, while two newly formed peasant organizations and the newspaper **Il Pellagroso** argued for constitutional ways to improve the lot of the hungry, the peasants, less patient and less trustful of the authorities, engaged in violent uprisings for their demands. The answer of the ruling authorities in both instances was suppression. In 1880, police arrested hundreds of strikers. In 1885, the government ruthlessly broke up the peasant organizations.

In France, where scientific agitation for change was somewhat more strenuous and where the working class was more highly organized (French workers had come of age as a political force in the Revolution of 1848 and had after all seized Paris and set up the great Commune in 1871, while French farmers, imbued with the spirit of the French Revolution, continually resorted to barricades and the use of arms in the fight to break up the remaining large landed estates), the ruling class was forced to take effective measures against the disease. Even the literary world contributed to the fight. A writer named Edmond About wrote a novel, **Maitre Pierre,** published in 1858, exposing the terrible plight of the pellagrins. Hence, in France the disease came under control some thirty to forty years before scientists proved niacin to be the specific deficiency and learned how to synthesize it.

In the United States, in 1932,34, during some of the worst years of the Great Depression, workers, forced to rely on their own resources, contributed to a dramatic decrease in the incidence of the disease and its death rate. For the longest time, in the South, it was not only corn for calories and corn for cash, cotton also was a cash crop. When in the early thirties the bottom fell out of the cotton market, farm workers and sharecroppers, urged by members of the Agricultural Extension Service, began raising garden vegetables, soybeans, peanuts, field peas, and citrus fruit. Despite hard times, diet improved and the severity of pellagra declined among blacks and whites. This partial control of the disease occurred four to eight years before the firm scientific knowledge about niacin and its synthesis. When the capitalist market revived the demand for

cotton in the mid-thirties, pellagra became rampant once again—firmly-established specific deficiency and cure notwithstanding.

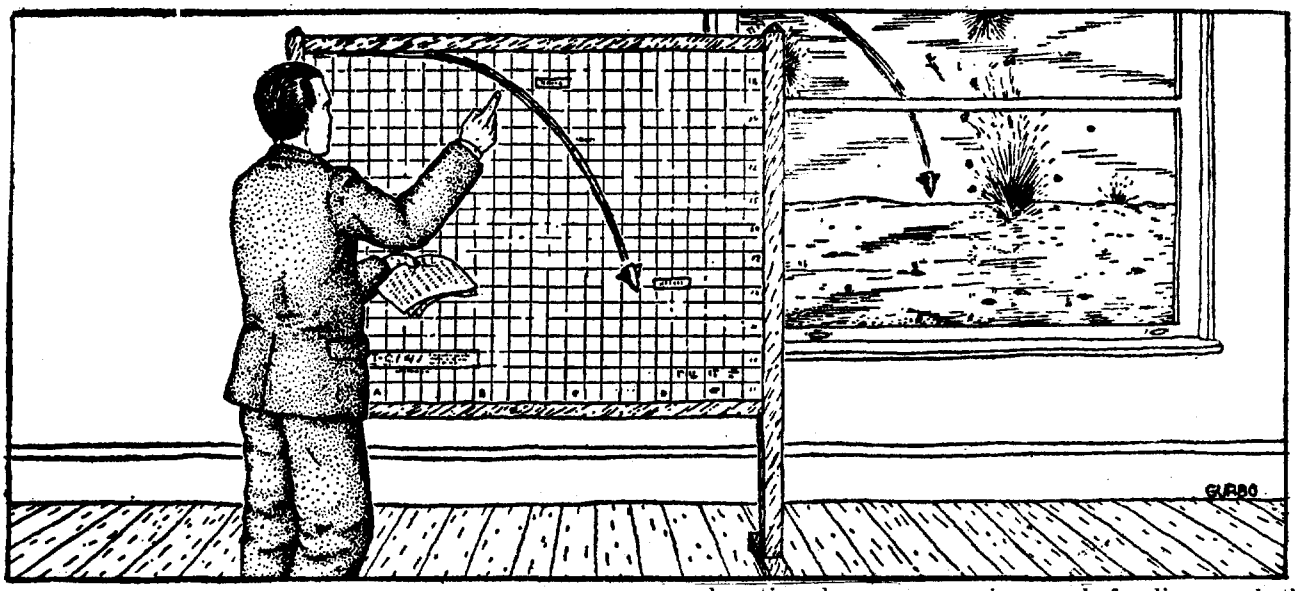
Citing these examples of other ways of dealing with pellagra is not to belittle the use of niacin as a means of coping with the disease. Its use is to be applauded over and over again and to be regarded as a great service of medical science to working people in all parts of the globe. The point is that the problem is much larger than the discovery of a single unit cause and a single unit cure. The examples show, as the main theme of this paper has stressed throughout, that the medical problem is inseparable from the political economy and that often political action is equal, indeed often superior as medical practice to the single-cause, magic-cure approach.

All this falls into place when we squarely face up to the fact that pellagra is a capitalist disease; this is true not only of pellagra, but of other health problems too. It would be wrong if the reader were to assume that this article implies that capitalism set out deliberately to impose pellagra on agricultural and other workers. Pellagra is at first an accidental fallout of capitalisms's main goal, the exploitation of workers to make profit.[10] But how did capitalist society respond to the problem once it was discovered to be the consequence of its economic operation? Did it then say, Let's change our operation to eliminate the disease? No. It fought every inch of the way to maintain corn as the main element of workers' diet. It denied that corn was the problem. It suppressed workers' action for more wages and better diet. It ignored what scientists who believed the disease to be nutritutional had to say. And, as we shall see in a moment, it paid for other accounts to show that the disease had little to do with the food supply, in the process of which it utilized racism to avoid solving the problem. Thus, while capitalism cannot be blamed for deliberately imposing pellagra on the world when it first began its ravages, it quite consciously and deliberately blocked its conquest for the longest time after its general and specific nutritional deficiencies were known. In the long history of its opposition, hundreds of thousands, indeed probably well over a million people, as the figures cited above show, were victimized by the disease, and tens of thousands died and became mentally defective. No matter how good a face one may put on it, the deliberateness and persistency of the opposition constitute criminal irresponsibility for the sake of profit.

In a letter to the **Scientific American** (June 1975), Professor S.E. Luria of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology reports on a soon to be published book by Allan Chase called **Killers of Hope.** In the book, Chase points out that the United States government based its policy on pellagra not on Goldberger's rigorously scientific proof that the disease was nutritional but on a 500 page report by the eugenicist Charles B. Davenport, issued in 1915, three years after Goldberger's findings. Here is what Davenport had to say: "It appears that certain races or blood lines react in the pellagra families in a specific and differential fashion that will go far to prove the presence of a hereditary factor in pellagra."[11] The racist character of Davenport's view is obvious. Deficient genes not corn, the genes of a particular class, the working class, are at fault according to Davenport's account. While attacking blacks, Davenport did not neglect "inferior poor white trash," Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Greeks." Is it going too far or being too dogmatic or being too suspicious to point out that among the several important capitalist backers of Davenport we find the Kellogg family, whose fortune was made and is being augmented by that breakfast cereal of absolutely no nutritional value, corn flakes?

Dr. Jean Mayer, the famous nutritionist at Harvard and whom one would assume knows better, is a perfect example of the narrow, ahistorical approach to the problem. In a nationally syndicated column, c i r c u l a t e d in August of 1975 (**Detroit Free Press,** Aug. 6, 1975), he runs an account of the defeat of pellagra. By omitting the fact that the United States government based its policy on the Davenport study and that the disease increased in incidence in every year but three after Goldberger-s p r o o f and that it took the government five years after the identification of niacin to take measures compelling its use, he leaves the impression that the r u l i n g powers pursued a vigorous program to overcome pellagra. The opposite, however, is the case. The good efforts of individual members of the Public Health Service, the sound science of Goldberger and the researchers who followed him could make no dent in the disease because of the overall intransigence of the ruling powers, more willing to listen to racist pseudo-science.

The distribution of the disease, geographically and among the various segments of world population, show it to be indeed a capitalist disease, but also, particularly as we come closer in time to the present, a case of capitalist racism, not theoretical racism, but racism in practice. Davenport's socially and racially biased theories come after the fact, after the practice is well in progess. As the disease spread around the world and grew to plague levels, it shifted in its dominance from whites to colored peoples. Today, the disease is found mainly in India, Egypt, and South Africa; not in any significant numbers, however, in Lesotho, which is completely surrounded by South Africa, but where the government in power is not racist. In South Africa, where a white supremacist ruling class is in power, it exists, and mainly among the country's black population. When the disease existed in the United States, it was found mostly in the South, and the majority of its victims were black sharecroppers and farm workers. Capitalist exploitation is, however, no respecter of color. Every year, while the disease ravaged the South, over a hundred thousand white sharecroppers and farm workers also fell prey to pellagra. They too suffered from indiscriminate



exploitation. And so also did the fine work of honest doctors and scientists, interested in establishing the truth and effecting good health care for people, irrespective of skin color.[12]

Although pellagra is no longer a health problem in this country, the biased attitudes found in Davenport still complicate every area of our lives, including medical research and health care. If we are to make headway in the health field, we have to take on racism squarely. And if we are to take it on effectively, we have to know who stimulates it, in practice, in attitudes which then allow it to go on unchallenged, in biological theorizing which then gives it the veneer of scientific justification. And we have to know who profits from it.

In the letter mentioned above, Luria goes on to say: "It is interesting to compare the claims of the early eugenicists concerning pellagra with those present-day I.Q. hereditarians. Both sets of claims are presumably the products of 'research' biased by social prejudice and likely to find sympathetic echoes in biased audiences." Luria's comparison is apt. It alerts us to the presence in 1975 of the kind of racist biases in biological thinking that stands in the way of scientific progress. It discredits the scientific pretention of Jensen, Herrnstein, Eyesenck, and the other I.Q. hereditarians.

Luria may be right about the sympathetic echoes sounded in biased audiences, but he leaves out some important facts. Who enables the hereditarians to do their theorizing? who publicizes them? who finds their work useful rationalizations for self advantage? Surely not the biased audiences in which they find a favorable response. The hereditarians are supported by great academic institutions, of considerable wealth themselves—that is, with enormous holdings in the capitalist system—and by large amounts of government funding. They're given ample space in respected journals, such as the **Harvard Educational Review.** Jensen's views, Banfield's views, Coleman's views, like the views of Davenport before them, are regularly referred to by government agencies, agencies in this instance studying educational programming and funding and the educability of black and other working-class youth.

The mass media, themselves heavily vested in capitalism, continually give them prime space and time. Recently Coleman's attack on school busing received front page treatment in every major newspaper and prime reporting on TV across the country. When **bona fide** scientists pointed out that the statistics Coleman claimed to have in attacking busing did not actually exist, the story appeared in the back pages and hardly at all on TV.

Surely, the biased audience does not control the supporting institutions, the academic journals, the organs of mass communications. Isn't it, rather, another example of enterprises whose main business is to **influence thought** and which have vast accumulations of capital, stimulating in the audience racist attitudes, as they have been doing for all of their history, in books, newspapers, movies, text books, TV, comics, political reports, and for years and years in pseudo-scientific treatises?

These I.Q. theories are used by the government, as Davenport's theories were in the case of pellagra, to avoid doing anything adequate about the school situation. In fact they constitute part of the justification for dismantling the gains made in education in the last ten years. They are used to allow the overcrowding and deterioration of school plant, for the eliminating of teaching personnel, and for the pricing of higher education out of the means of the working class and black population. What about the biased audience? Do they gain from these policies? Not at all. They also, for the most part, suffer overcrowding, poor training because of insufficient teachers, and the inability to pay for the increased cost of higher education. They may find the hereditarian view of I.Q. attractive but they are, nevertheless, also the victims of its racist prejudice.

Who benefits from these theories? In the end, the capitalists. The educational policies which they help justify have made the share of profits which the capitalists turn over for education pro-

portionately smaller now than it has been for a decade or more. The failure to note these facts, the tendency to place an equal share of blame on biased audiences, backs away from naming the actual forces stimulating racist biological theory and blunts our ability to effectively deal with the racist roadblock to science.

The same situation prevails in the field of medicine. The theories are not exactly the same, but the net effect is. Because disease is considered to be mainly non-social, that is, simply bacterial, viral, or genetic and the cure a specific drug, a slice of anatomy, or a bit of genetic counselling, we discover justification of policies that allows hospitals to become overcrowded and run down, to be understaffed at every level, from professional to non-professional, and to become too high priced for working people and minority populations. What this means is that the share coming from the capitalist class for the health care system, as in the case of education, is now far less than in the recent past.

The problem, then, of politics, disease, and biological thinking is very much with us. Not only is it present in Davenport and the I.Q. theorists. It is also present in the response of doctors, researchers, and other personnel to such theorists. The response has too often been timid and the disagreement with them, even where they are considered wrong and racist, a disagreement among gentlemen, as if their theories were harmless.

But such theorists were used in the case of pellagra to justify a do-nothing policy for better than thirty years, while multitudes suffered and died. Hardly a harmless result. Rather a health situation for urgent action, for indignation against those who use science for the profit of one class to the detriment and death of the exploited.

It is also present in the continued concentration on the glamor diseases and the "magic bullet": cancer, for example, and chemotherapy, cancer surgery, heart transplant, and open-heart operations. Even in these areas, no social approach—the banning of cigarettes, for example, even if that meant an end to that industry, whose profit-making produces lung cancer, emphysema, heart ailment. How about curbing industrial pollution to diminish respiratory and heart problems, to say nothing of curbing allergenic suffering. What about shifting more attention and money to diseases that are clearly the result of exploitation and racism: an all-out attack on tuberculosis, particularly among black people, an all-out effort to deal with occupational health problems. The demand is much too wide to expect from the ruling class.

Only recently has occupational health become a recognized branch of medicine. Still it is a minor, when not completely neglected, part of medical training and research. The solutions to these problems are less of the "magic bullet" kind, more of the social planning kind in favor of working people. Sound health practice here requires political action more than anything else and forces medical practice to oppose the claims of capitalist profit making.

How many of our undergraduate and professional schools offer courses in the social history of disease? How many of our medical workers, doctors, nurses, nurses aides, orderlies are trained to think of hospital and medical care, of the patient and his disease in a social context, without the equivocation of not offending the powers that be? There can be little argument that the approach remains, despite new information and increased dialogue about other ways, the single-cell, viral, "magic bullet" approach. There can be little argument either that doctors, nurses, medical students, biomedical researchers and students are relatively disorganized to fight for changes affecting their own careers, their patients' destinies, and for practices that take into account the effects on health of a profit-making structure.

Meanwhile, health problems intensify that could easily be solved even with our current state of knowledge. How saddening and stultifying this must to the many fine people in the health field. And it will continue to be so until scientists, students, and health workers, together with other workers, realize not only that pellagra is a capitalist disease but that **capitalism** is the number one health problem to eliminate, if our medical knowledge and skills are to become effective instruments in permanently improving health for the bulk of the world's population, black and white.

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PL is interested in hearing from our readers on the issues raised in this article. We should like to hear from those of our readers who are doctors, researchers, students in medical school or preparing to enter medical schools, students in the biological sciences, and nurses, and hospital workers.

We urge PL members working in these areas to show this article to their colleagues, classmates, and co-workers. Discuss with them their reactions to it and what problems they face as members or future members of the medical world. The idea of a new approach to dealing with disease, the politics behind health problems and theories should be of significant concern to all people in the medical field. They have a personal stake in the future they face under present social and economic circumstances.

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NOTES

1 The use of dulling drugs as "treatment," particularly in the United States, has increased at an alarming pace for all sections of the population. Their use in dealing with children, minorities, and women is a reflection of discrimination against youth, of racism, and sexism. Women regularly find that their ailments are not taken at full value, that their sicknesses are attributed to "psychological" and "emotional" problems, and that instead of sound and thorough medical investigation to determine what is physically the matter, they are given tranquilizers.

2 The reference here is to empiricism, most political science, and economic theorizing, where the tendency is to

isolate the historical event, the leading political personalities, and the market place from the class forces operating in society. What is at work is the general tendency toward a "reductionist" ideology which a) reduces information content by "breaking complex systems into simpler, elemental components" (e.g. breaking a cell, isolating an enzyme, assaying the properties of the enzyme in an alien environment, concluding that the enzyme is thus and so), and b) reduces complex systems to conform to the properties of simple systems (e.g. humans are big bacteria or naked apes; prairie dogs are territorial, therefore nationalism is a biological imperative, etc.). There is also the hangover of the nineteenth century positivism, which says that our knowledge is only of *data* not of reality. The reference is also to the general method of scientific experiment, where the experimenter seeks to locate the single root or causal factor by neutralizing the effects of all but one of the conditions in which the problem exists. As a tool whereby bits and pieces of scientific knowledge may be pieced together it cannot be overestimated, but neither should it be overrated as an adequate account of a continually changing reality, continually in contradiction, and a product of history.

3 Manipulating and changing the environment requires, of course, sound political knowledge and adequate committed forces to take the required political action.

4 The information about pellagra in this paragraph and in the rest of the paper comes from Daphne Roe, *A Plague of Corn: The Social History of Pellagra* (Cornell U.P., 1973). This is a book well worth reading.

5 Roe, p. 39.

6 The classic terminology is the worker creates value in producing commodities. The worker receives from the value he has created only that portion of the value that equals the cost of the labor power he has used in production. Another portion of the value created represents the value of the machinery, fuel, and raw material used up in the act of production. By using his labor power, the worker transfers to the commodities he produces: the value of his own labor power and the value of the machinery, fuel, and raw material used up. As he continues to make more commodities over and above the commodities that equal the transferred values, in the course of the time he has agreed to work, he creates more value. The difference between the transferred values and the total value produced is called surplus value—roughly what is meant by profit—and belongs wholly to the capitalist, though without the worker's use of labor power no value would exist. The less the capitalist pays for the labor power, the more surplus value, i.e., profit, he pockets.

7 This paragraph refers to a general condition and not one that is true for all sections of Europe. Russia remained feudal as did some other pockets. Also a whole variety of feudal customs persisted in all parts of Europe. Yet these were not the determining factors. The capitalist market had by this time forced landlords into capitalist activities and relationships. Its impact was so great that even where feudal relationships remained, its influence could not be denied, especially when it came to the growth of food and crops for industrial use.

8 The company store became a way for some industrialists to make money out of the sale of corn, and incidentally where this was so pellagra hit hard. But this kind of profit-making from corn was not true for all industrialists.

9 Roe, p. 82.

10 The goal of making profit is incidentally not a matter of individual will, but a necessity, if capitalism is to persist and grow; if in fact the individual capitalist is not to be driven into bankruptcy by the rivalry of other capitalists. Even the most well-intentioned capitalist finds that his intentions are impossible to carry out, if he is to remain a capitalist. He may find certain historical circumstances where, for a while, he can be less greedy, less brutal, but sooner or later, he is forced by competition to adopt the means of the cruelest, most exploitative members of his class. Hence the tendency for the capitalist to concentrate his capital, conglomerate his holdings, and maximize his profits. Otherwise bankruptcy and failure, and a fate worse than death for him: to become a worker and, who knows, even to get pellagra, particularly if he lives in Egypt, South Africa, or India.

11 Roe, p. 64.

12 This is another example of how racism affects white working-class and middle-class people. The same is true in the example where deteriorating health care and delivery is cited. The "biased audience" is white, but their schools and health care have been inadequate in the past and are getting worse every year. These inadequacies are not eliminated by the fact that white schools (we are not talking about schools attended by the upper class and the upper middle class) and white health care is somewhat better than black and other minority schools and health care. The point is that white schools and health care are disgraceful and alarmingly inadequate. Black schools and health care are disgraceful—horrifyingly disgraceful—and racist. Both are inadequate because the ruling class uses racism to rationalize cutbacks, which then affect whites also, and again uses racism to keep white and black politically divided so that our mutual strength in opposing capitalist school and health policies is cut in half.


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# GENOCIDAL POLITICS IN CALIFORNIA LABOR

Most non-Chinese people growing up in California have only the most stereotypical ideas about the origins of the Chinese communities throughout the state. The basic image is probably that there were Chinese here from Gold Rush days, and that they worked the railroads as "some kind of slaves." Generally, only the most superficial knowledge of the historical oppression of minorities and labor enters our public school training. Of course there is a long tradition of Marxist scholarship and this "countercultural" source has been tapped by many as they wish to discover more of the hard realities of life in the working class since the revolt of the Colonies. But even these sources are very meager on the particular history that is the subject of this paper: the participation of the labor movement, and the socialists within it, in the genocidal campaign against the Chinese people living in California since the Gold Rush. I hope to show in the following material that the events of 1867-1886 within the labor movement were of profound and formative importance to the future of the laboring people in this state.

The seeds of anti-Chinese activity among working people are to be found in the early patterns of life in the mining areas after the big gold strike of 1848. Chinese immigration began mainly in response to this strike, and many immigrants were men intent on making a fortune to bring back to their homes in China. At first immigration was unrestricted, except by the Chinese emperor, and the news of initial success by early immigrants in the mines brought a continuous stream of new arrivals into California. (325 arrived in 1849, 450 in 1850, 2700 in 1851 and 20,000 in 1852.) There is much evidence of white miners driving Chinese off richer claims in the early days, before 1852. The mines were run in a nearly communal life style at first, embodying the Jacksonian "producer ethic": equality among the "value-carriers" of society, those who directly produce by their own energies—excepting "unassimilable" types.

Much romantic nonsense was written about this period as an embodiment of the American ideal, notably by Charles Shinn (**Mining Camps**) who felt that here was an example of the teutonic instinct for self-government. This type of thinking clearly existed among the miners, since foreigners of noticeable physical differences, first Latin Americans and then primarily the Chinese, were definitely and forcibly excluded from the mining camp idyll. Chinese miners could work low yield claims deserted by whites, and they were tolerated as necessary parts of the mining camp economy since laundering and cooking and general servant tasks were distasteful for a "superior race" of people. Those Chinese who mined were subject to hostility, and mainly kept their operations at a modest level, staying with the "rocker" technology long after white miners had moved on to bigger and more efficient tools (e.g., long tom, sluice). According to Ping Chiu in **Chinese Labor in California 1850—1880:** "The portable rocker made it possible for the Chinese to migrate from place to place to avoid persecution without abandoning their 'investment.'"[1]

So the beginnings for Chinese in California were immediately a history of sharp racial oppression. The ideology of the white miners and fortune seekers was probably the key to the forging of the Chinese as a kind of "servant" class, as there is little evidence that the Chinese miners represented any direct distinct threat economically any more than each new **white** arrival. They were not yet competing for wages, it was each man for himself. But the white immigrant, full of Teutonic destiny theories, old country narrow mindedness, the glory of cavalry wars against the "inferior redskins," and fears of competition from freed black slaves was laying the groundwork for a long pattern of racist attacks on Orientals as the "plague-host" imperiling the workingman in California.

As the mines quickly became large-capital operations with new technology and rich veins became exhausted, many frustrated miners were forced to become wage-laborers to survive. Very quickly this became the norm, especially in the new Comstock strike. At this point the conflicts with the Chinese were more bitter and more typical of the future decades. At the Columbia Miners

Convention in May 1852, the idea that the Chinese were to be driven off that part of Tuolomne County was justified because it was felt they were willing to work for low wages. But the real issue was a growing battle between the miners and the Tuolomne Water Company, one of the new invasions of corporate capital in a phase of mining. The resolutions at the convention were a blend of cultural and economic reasons to drive the Chinese out, coupled with a lot of rhetoric against the "selfishness of the capitalists." From the meager evidence surrounding this incident it does not appear that the Chinese represented a truly competitive force, but that rather the anxiety of the miners about water rates and the anticipation of being made into wage laborers for the water company as the operation expanded, had found a proper scapegoat. The capitalists of the period had no reason to foment such feelings, particularly not the merchants who felt the Chinese were a solid portion of their market, nor the new industrialists who could foresee the possibility of using the Chinese as cheaper wage laborers.

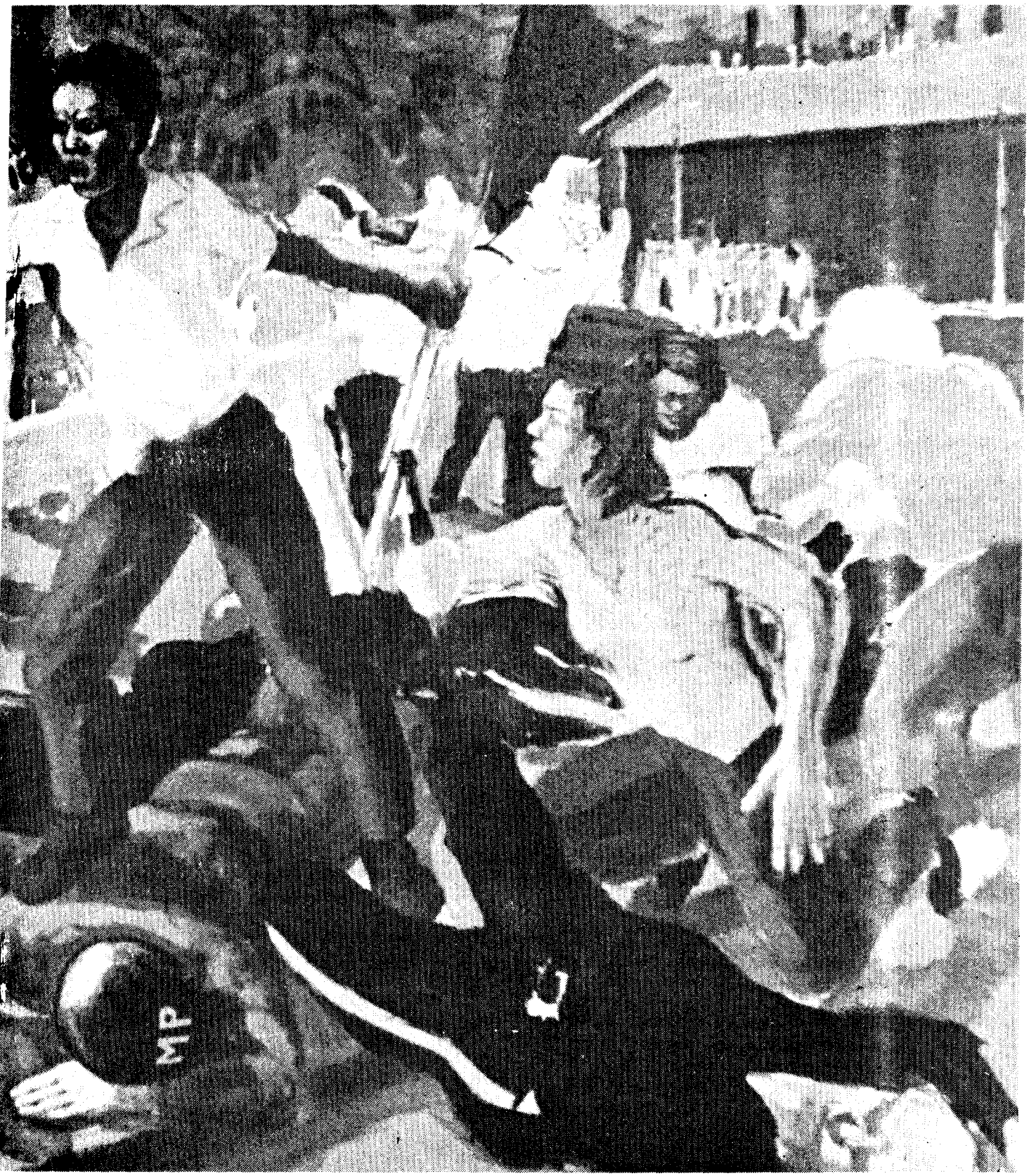
Chinese were totally excluded from the Comstock wage labor force, and could only serve as before, laundering, cooking, etc. But by 1859 a mass exodus of white miners from the Sierra mines occurred and continued for five years as the ditches sharply dropped in worth and production. According to Ping Chiu again, "By the early 1860s the majority of the surface miners were of Chinese origin."[2] Battles with independent Chinese miners ceased and the main arenas of conflict became clearly in competition over wages and jobs in the burgeoning new industries of the area: the railroads and manufacturing in the cities. The ideological framework, however, had already been set. The "independent producer" of the Gold Rush who decided Orientals were subhuman and unassimilable became the wage worker of the seventies and eighties, buffeted by an incredible West Coast economic roller coaster and blaming indiscriminately the monopolists and the Chinese for all his ills.

Among the Chinese this whole period tended to keep the class stresses within their community from bursting into the classic combat of rich against exploited, although there are a few examples of this surfacing. According to Alex Saxton (**The Indispensable Enemy**) a rebellion against a labor contracting firm broke out in March 1876 during which "the laborers finally armed themselves and attempted settlement by direct action."[3] This was a direct revolt against the hierarchical binds that guaranteed the labor contracting arrangement within the Chinese community. The Six Companies, however, was generally able to obscure its exploitative function towards its own people since it also provided a degree of protection against an almost totally hostile white society. As Saxton points out, this made even more impossible any link between whites and Chinese as fellow workers facing a similar condition: "One of the accusations frequently made by non-Chinese against their Asiatic fellow workers was that they were too docile, too slave-like to be able ever to stand on their own feet in a free society. But the greater the pressure from outside, the more cohesive became the vertical structure of the Chinese establishment, and the more unlikely any horizontal cleavage within it."[4]

In the 1860s the troubles between Chinese and white labor subsided somewhat due to several economic conditions. The railroads, the large scale mines, and the big new manufacturing industry in the cities created a general labor shortage. The railroad was not completed till the end of the decade so eastern goods and labor were not so directly competitive yet. The civil war itself disrupted the flow of immigrants westward as well as that of goods. The labor unions of California got their first growth in this period, even pressuring the legislature to pass an eight-hour law by 1868. The use of Chinese labor on the great railroad construction tended to prevent a sharp competition over city jobs between Chinese and white unemployed miners. Most white workers on the railroads benefited from the use of Chinese gang labor, since they became the skilled and privileged section of that labor force. The Central Pacific had great difficulty retaining whites for the brute unskilled labor involved in crossing the Sierras, because the risk was so great and many other jobs existed. Crocker, Huntington and Stanford employed tens of thousands of Chinese, at great savings in wages and tremendous losses of life. In fact, no record exists of how many died in those incredible Sierra winters. They also created an army of trained workmen who went on to build all the subsidiary rail lines and much of the early heavy construction. As they dropped away from the railroads, they were a much more threatening source of competition for whites in the city manufacturing jobs.

In the year 1867 several critical events took place that foreshadowed the more complex and bitter racial wars of the following decades. In February there was a violent attack on a group of Chinese laborers working on the Potrero Street Railway by semi-organized white workers. This was the surfacing of spontaneous direct competitive anger by whites that became more institutionalized and used politically by the "anti-coolie" clubs. The next month an organization was formed, the Central Pacific Anti-Coolie Association, to co-ordinate efforts to defend those arrested in the February riots, and to formalize a type of boycott mechanism against those firms employing Chinese labor. Many of these organizers were from the small shop-owning class, particularly cigarmakers, who were resisting the growth of large capital operations necessary to compete with the East Coast products. The new move was to use Chinese as a classic cheap labor supply in those industries which were in direct competition with the East. There were also violent attacks against the Mission Woolen Mills because the clothing industry, as well, was using the same hiring tactics. The same dynamic was **not present**

**This is a photo of the as-yet unfinished mural in the PL headquarters in New York City. It has been proposed that a full-color poster be offered for sale for a proposed $5 (pending final costs). If you would be interested in having such a poster, please let us know—and if possible include the $5, so that we may have the poster made. (If it costs more,**



we will notify you, if less you will receive a refund, unless you decide to donate toward the cost of the poster.) Send to Poster, G.P.O. Box 808, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201.

locally based industries, such as construc-
nd shipbuilding, where the unions were
er and the labor force was nearly totally
Yet when the anti-coolie group was founded
union leaders were very prominent in it.
ɔly there was a realization, even at this
that although employers in these sectors
t **need** to employ cheaper labor to survive,
ɛmptation might get the better of them.
anti-coolie groups were effectively used to
hese employers' imaginations, and to set a
ɑ of use of racism by trade union leaders as
hod of ensuring their sanctuary-like exist-
s the bargaining agent for the skilled labor
ɛe trades.

another significant factor in this new rise
i-Chinese activity was more subtle, and
is some disagreement among sources as to
ect. In June of 1867 a massive strike oc-
l along the Central Pacific line by **Chinese**
**rs.** Chiu cites evidence that management
New York to see if they could get 10,000
es quickly to the job site to replace the
rs. He estimates at least 5000 workers
d tools June 24. Their leaflet said "Eight
a day good for white men, the same good
ıinese..." The result was at least a four
a month wage hike.[5] In Ira Cross' **History**
**ɔor in California** he states: "Another source
itation for the white employers was that
ıinese learned to use the strike as a means
ıcting higher wages and improved condi-
"[6] But Saxton doubts this reason, "since
ıce of strike actions by Chinese remains
ɪzingly meager."[7] A massive strike of 5-
vorkers demanding an eight hour day, parity
whites, and causing Crocker to wire East
,000 strikebreakers does not sound meager
. I believe an incident of this proportion
very definitely influence the bigger capital-
ɔ consider the need to actively foment anti-
se sentiment, to keep the condition of cheap
supply stable and to keep the whites and
se divided in their aims. Cross also men-
that Chinese commercial interests were be-
g to be much more directly competitive with
n sections of employers. So the evidence
that in this particular year, events occurred
might have swung new and more influential
forces into the general mass anti-Chinese
front.

clearest evidence of this is the election
y of the Democratic party in September of
ear. The Democrats were a shambles during
ivil War, as Union sentiment was strong
ıe party machinery was tied to Secessionism.
ı 1867 a series of reorganization led to the
ıg of a new political strategy and base for
ɔarty. The trade unions, at their peak that
were pressing anti-monopoly and eight-hour
egislation and needed a political vehicle.
nti-coolie agitation was taken up by the new
Democrats as an easy transition from anti-
ideology, yet without the secessionist taint
latter. The anti-coolie clubs in San Fran-
cisco became kind of ward clubs interwoven with the unions and other spokesmen for the workers. The Democrats allied with this force and eventually led a virulently racist campaign into a sweeping victory in the whole state. An undercurrent of anti-monopolist rhetoric kept the unions firmly supportive, and the anti-coolie talk gained the support of the unemployed, of shopkeepers, and of the aforementioned upper-bourgeois factions that had begun to cool off in their defense of the Chinese. This victory established clearly that anti-Chinese politics were successful politics, and within a few years, as Reconstruction fell apart and the Abolitionists declined, both parties were unified on the anti-Chinese issue.

What labor actually gained by making this first official unholy alliance is ironically little. The following year the Democrats made good on some promises, including an official eight-hour day law. The marches for the eight-hour day in 1867 were dual-issue activities, the other issue being ejection of Chinese labor. There is no record of any principled opposition to this stand from any labor spokesman, socialist or otherwise.

Standing on this type of ground for support and on this alliance, labor fell to pieces in the next five years. **The ten-hour day was back into effect rapidly and the Democrats very quickly became the "System."** In fact, by the 1870s they formed a bipartisan front with the Republicans. As the national economy started competing more forcefully with the West after the railroad was complete and the effects of the war over, the dumping of Eastern products began a rapid conversion to Chinese labor in the competitive industries, including the displacement of even skilled whites in these factories. **As the depression of 1873 began to be felt on the West Coast, more and more whites were unemployed, the unions dropped to nearly zero membership and the conditions deteriorated severely without any voice of resistance. In this first round of anti-Chinese politics in labor, the result was direct, clear and swift: it had been suicidal.**

The depression became most acute starting in 1876. In April of that year, the Democratic Mayor Bryant of San Francisco called a mass meeting on the "Chinese problem." Thousands attended and were urged to make this a national issue, keep their anger within legal and peaceful bounds, and be sure to vote Democrat next election. It was a way for the Democrats to use the reliable tactic of 1867 once again as a way to ride out a powerful mass dissatisfaction. This time the workingmen were not so active however. There was a growing hatred of both parties, especially since all the demands of the late sixties that interested unionists were totally ignored by the Democrats. This all crystallized in California in the wake of the great railroad strike of July 1877. The hierarchy of both parties reacted with predictable rage against the insurrectionary power of solidarity that flamed throughout the big Eastern and Midwestern cities. On the Pacific Coast the railroads rescinded their wage cuts and thereby averted a

similar explosion, yet feelings against the government and sympathy with the national labor upheavals were running very high in San Francisco.

On July 23 the socialist grouping in San Francisco called a mass rally of support for the strike. Thousands convened to hear the socialists call for solidarity and a universal eight-hour day. But in the midst of the rally hecklers from the anti-coolie clubs managed to break up the meeting and divert large numbers into a virulent mob that burned several Chinese establishments that night. The riot spread the next two days and involved pitched battles with police forces and the killing of at least four Chinese people.

**Once again a moment of potential progressive movement by working people had turned into an ironic disaster through racism.** The incident in San Francisco remains one of the great black marks in most labor history accounts. Thus Anthony Bimba: "In this period a peculiar (sic) movement developed in California. Instead of carrying on a struggle with the bourgeoisie, the labor movement turned its face against the Chinese..."[8] And Philip Foner heads the paragraph this way: "Demagogy's brief sway in California"[9]

When throughout the country the strike was an example of solidarity and high principle nearly rivalling the Paris Commune of a few years previous, in San Francisco it was turned into a pogrom. The old patterns reaped their fruit. The socialists involved were small in strength and not well connected to the union movement. Where the socialist groupings throughout the east had taken a fairly principled position on the need to integrate and organize white and black workers, somehow they fell prey, with few exceptions, to anti-orientalism. A.C. Cameron in the **Workingmen's Advocate** called orientals mongrels and monkeys and opposed immigration, while at the same time advocating unity between black and white. Adolph Douai in the Arbeiter Union criticized the race hatred involved but estimated it would take hundreds of years to bring the Chinese up to "our level."[10] There was no clear opposition to racism in all its forms as an ideology, no principled voice of any strength.

In this vacuum emerged Denis Kearney, an opportunistic demagogue who made the most of the workers' hatred for the two-party system and their familiar scapegoat, the Chinese. He built a following by speaking to gatherings of unemployed in the sandlots of San Francisco, denouncing the "bipartisan fatcats" for their weak position on the Chinese question. He and his followers constantly implied that direct violent force was the real way to get the Chinese out and solve the miseries of the depression. A Workingmen's Party was formed and grew with unbelievable swiftness. Overnight they were a distinct threat to the Democrats and the Republicans in the upcoming elections. Many trade unionists with socialist leanings distrusted Kearney but felt that they needed to be involved with the mass movement under the banner of "the Chinese must go!" Frank Roney was the leading figure of this type, and he said later: "I realized that the cry was superficial but agreed to sail under that flag... in order that I might in time have other and real subjects considered by the people..."[11] What he and several others hoped was that this would be the way the unions could eventually be revived. They had already forgotten—if they had ever learned—that racism was what had earlier wiped out the unions.

During the winter of 1877 conditions were worse than ever, and Kearney constantly kept the mobs of unemployed on the brink of violence against the Chinese. Several minor incidents did occur, but soon the energy was channeled into the elections. As the winter subsided, the party rode to great victory at the polls, dominating the state constitutional convention in May, and winning many regional elections against both parties. Kearney defeated the union-minded factions of the party by mob rule and was riding high for the next year or two. But corruption was so deep in the frame of the new party that it rapidly lost its following. The delegates at the constitutional convention accomplished nothing for working people despite having the power, and the prior commitment, to do so. All they really put their energies to was the passing of an anti-Chinese clause in the new state constitution. Although the party elected Kalloch as mayor of San Francisco in 1879, that was its last hurrah, and by 1880 the party was dead. There were no more mobs of unemployed to rally as a base, corruption was too obvious, they failed to push real reforms through for workers, and the significant socialist grouping that was interested in union activity was defeated and split from the party. **Although the laboring people had had a chance to take some significant steps, they lost—due to a policy of racism.**

But this time there was a division of voices in their leadership. Roney's group had tagged along with the Workingmen's Party in the hope of getting union activity started through it. Here is the first indication of socialists doubting the wisdom of using racism as the line of strategy. They fought to keep Kearney's anarchistic mobs out of power and to tone down the violent rhetoric. But they lost **their** objectives completely by hitching to the "mass movement" against their Chinese brothers and sisters. Five years later evidence finally came to the surface that some people were actually beginning to think of taking a principled position in the socialist groupings, and the seed must have been planted in the experience of the Workingmen's Party.

The effect of all this on the Chinese workers must have been strong enough to wipe out any chance from their side of appealing for mutual organization with any whites as workers. This idea could have been alive when the railroad strike occurred demanding the eight-hour day for Chinese workers a few years before. But by 1880 the vertical organization of the Chinese was strengthened as a general necessity of defense. In that winter of 1880, full of violent rhetoric and threats to drive Chinese out of San Francisco among the unemployed, nothing was actually done to

Chinatown because, in fact, it was impregnable. A trained corps of non-Chinese militia were employed by the Six Companies to protect Chinatown, and as Saxton says, the ghetto itself was **armed and prepared for defense.** Only four years before, Chinese laborers had armed themselves to fight their **own** contract bosses in Chinatown.

Between 1876 and 1880, the years of severe depression, the anger of both white and Chinese workers against their respective employers was diverted, in classic fashion, into racial separatism: among whites, to drive out the "yellow peril," and among Chinese, to defend their existence. At this point it is hard to believe this was not wished by the more powerful economic forces of the time. Divide and rule has never been a mere cliche for the propertied classes. But it never could have worked so sensationally without the background of thinking that sprang up in the Gold Rush when the conflicts were certainly not orchestrated from on high. Surely working people were led astray by demagogues, but they went with enthusiasm and without a single voice of principled opposition amongst their vanguard, the socialists.

That grouping—including Frank Roney, some Knights of Labor, and motley groupings of socialists—maintained their idea of reviving the trade unions under the anti-Chinese banner after Kearney's party foundered. They wanted to get past his demagoguery and contempt for unionism. In 1882 with a new depression beginning they had succeeded in making the Trades Assembly a viable labor center again, with forty-nine unions involved. Although the main membership was in the all-white skilled trades, where there was no direct conflict with Chinese workers, the Trades Assembly kept up the tradition of moving under the anti-Chinese slogans, and even conceived an interlocking method for organizing unions through them. When President Arthur vetoed a treaty revision restricting Chinese immigration, the Trades Assembly leaders called a convention and formed the League of Deliverance as a mass group to take advantage of the anger in California over the veto. They defeated Kearney's effort to make it an old-style mob base, and instead used the technique of boycott to enforce white labor organization. The idea of the union label originated in this period, being a White Labor Union label on cigars, clothing, etc., whose manufacturers had agreed to eject Chinese labor in favor of **unionized white labor.** The campaign was only partially successful and deteriorated into a shakedown operation against small shops, with a lot of money going into organizers' pockets. Then the treaty cutting off Chinese into immigration was revised and signed by Arthur in May 1882, and the League's cause died out underneath them. It dissolved in late 1882.

The union-socialist group had spent so much effort on the League that their Trades Assembly languished, and when the depression became more severe in 1883-1884, the Trades Assembly actually went out of existence, only the old skilled trades holding up under wage cuts, etc. In this period, when labor again hitched its interests to racism, the socialists were no longer a reluctant faction as Roney pictured himself within the Workingmen's Party of three years previous. This time they initiated the strategy, as an expedient way of getting a mass following for the unions, while taking a more directly violent stance against the Chinese. This direction took its most odious form in the following period.

In 1885, beginning in February in Eureka, there was a spontaneous wave of violent and successful attempts to expel Chinese from cities up and down the west. A pogrom in Wyoming in September left 28 Chinese dead and their quarters demolished. Then in one Seattle area several Chinese were slain and eventually the entire Chinese section of Seattle was forcibly shipped to San Francisco. The "final solution to the Chinese problem" was being acted upon. The socialists and unionists in San Francisco felt left out of the movement they had implied all along was the real answer, and they endeavored to put themselves back in the center of it.

This took the form of calling together a new central labor federation at a convention in November 1885. The agenda was headed by discussion of "the Chinese question" and followed by other labor issues. By this time the Socialists had formed a more radical organization called the International Workingmen's Association. It originated in San Francisco and was not affiliated with the Marxian International of the same name, which in fact had in the United States died seven years before. Its leaders were drawn to the famous anarchists of the day (Parsons, Most and Spies of Haymarket fame) and had one clear success in organizing the first union of seamen through a militant strike. Their delegates proposed the answer to the Chinese question: a motion to force removal of all Chinese from San Francisco in sixty days. This was opposed by the more moderate Knights of Labor spokesmen mainly because it would have meant a disaster course of conflict with the government. There was a bitter battle. But in the midst of it, the first known voice of conscience reached the ears of labor activists: that of Sigismund Danielewicz. He spoke as a delegate from the International Workingmen's Association and was an organizer of the seamen's union. There is a newspaper account of his remarks: "He tried the patience of the convention by reading several pyramids of words about the equality of men. He said that he belonged to a race which had been persecuted for hundreds of years and was still persecuted—the Jews; and he called on all his people to consider whether the 'persecution of the Chinese' was more justifiable than theirs had been. And he left it upon the Irish to say whether it was more justifiable than their persecutions in New York had been; upon the Germans to make a similar comparison upon their conditions somewhere else."[12]

He was unable to finish amidst the boos. Roney gavelled him down. International Workingmen's Association speakers attacked him and even took a more "radical" racist line than before in order

to show how truly militant they were and how clean the I.W.A. was of his thinking. One proposed that twenty days be the time limit: "The nihilists in Russia and the Fenians in Ireland were once called fools, but after the czar was blown up and after the Phoenix Park murders, they were termed fanatics. If there are fanatics in Russia and Ireland, I don't see why they cannot be here too."[13] The "radicals" won the vote, 60 to 47 with Danielewicz abstaining and the Knights of Labor, the minority, walking out. But apparently the mere presence of an opposition had some effect. Some resolutions were later toned down (the sixty day time limit for example) and the drive to make the new federation a lasting union amalgamation became successful. In fact it has had an unbroken existence to this day, now known as the San Francisco Central Labor Council. It was mainly the I.W.A. which, after the initial few months of boycotting Chinese-made goods, began in spring of 1886 to spearhead some serious organizing drives on a trade union basis with great success.

It is not within the scope of this paper to go into, but generally in the decades following there was an increasing anti-racist feeling among a small minority of socialists. There was also an increasing adherence to unionism under its own banner without the need to follow anti-Chinese sentiment as the only means toward growth. It seems as if the socialists had gone as far as they could go toward racism in 1886 and thereafter the tremendous conflict between an ideology that conceived a brotherhood of mankind and a strategy that pressed for genocide could no longer be tolerated by a growing number of socialists. But of course to simply say that they finally turned away from a Hitlerian program is no great tribute. **The damage of those twenty years has never been cleared away from the California labor movement, and the negative example stands as a powerful indication of the force of such corrupt ideas as opposed to true class interests in the Marxian sense.**

**Conclusion:** One of the interesting threads running through this history is the degree to which the ideas of the period deflected the more "natural" or determinist economic script. The original miners' conflicts with the Chinese were purely a result of their beliefs, the beliefs current in an America dominated by forces who were busily expanding their commercial empire through genocide, military force and theft. The miners in the Gold Rush had little objective reason to fear competition from the Chinese, yet they actively persecuted them. In the ensuing years of trade union complicity in, and finally leadership of, this persecution, it is interesting that the industries where the unions were traditionally based were not directly threatened by Chinese labor. These were the enterprises not competitive with eastern business, particularly the building and metal industries. The unions of skilled workers in these trades were always lily-white and actually greatly benefitted from the presence of Chinese as an unskilled laboring caste. They were never even in contact with Chinese workers, yet their leadership always took active part in the various forms of anti-Chinese action throughout the two decades and more. Naturally there was an indirect effect of cheap labor, and there was a general pressure on the whole non-Chinese work force from the threat of contract Chinese labor that influenced even the privileged craftsmen. But the point I would like to make is that it seems clear that the thinking of the leadership, particularly the socialists, was by far the more critical factor in determining whether these workers would actively fight the Chinese or not.

With the idea that it was not even certain economically that these groupings would take an anti-Chinese position, the outlook of the socialists seems much more clearly tainted with guilt. When we think of what happened in Germany under the Reich we look to blame ideological direction behind it, and it seems to me that the California socialists of the day were technically in the position of a nazi party. The results of their actions were hideous in their own right, albeit on a lesser scale. No class in history moves blindly according to an economic script written in a Doomsday Book. The white working people of San Francisco in the two decades mentioned were not a progressive force in society. Their soul, their conscience and leadership was taken with the idea that genocide would alleviate their oppression, and thus they largely played a negative part. **In many ways this paper shows the directly self-destructive consequence of taking the program of genocide as the way toward unionism and better life. The union movement and the general condition of the white workers was disastrously broken down in successive waves as time it rose up through this means.** Only when racism became a lesser banner did some permanent trade union gains result, like the establishment of the Central Labor Council, Building Trades Council and Metal Trades Council, around 1886, all of which have continued in a similar form until this day.

This brings us to the final point: The long term damage done by this activity a hundred years past. The fact that the key structures of the labor movement were born out of the convention of 1885 and that the craft unions exist in the same form that were created through anti-Chinese agitation are sobering thoughts. I believe that the fervor of that racism and the length of time it held unopposed has deeply stamped our presence of unionism, despite the eventual movements this century which were integrated (partially the CIO in the thirties). Conservatism and racism have continued to be hallmarks of the building trade unions, and even now, with great political pressure to allow minority membership, the actual percentage of Chinese workers in the unions is very tiny.[14] Beyond this arena, it is plain that in San Francisco today, Chinese workers are still an oppressed and largely excluded minority in the work force. The traditional areas of cheap labor are still occupied by the Chinese.

as in the garment sweatshops and service industries. Unions have made little attempt to include, for example, the workers in the Chinatown sweatshops in their organizations. Racism toward orientals among other workers is still strong enough to prevent any widespread sense of unity. It would seem to me the current particular oppression of the Chinese people in San Francisco, and the current status quo of the labor movement which still has as its backbone craft-oriented, nearly lily-white unions, have remained this long because of the depths in which the labor movement and socialists of the late 1800s foundered, with racism. It is one thing to point out that the business interests of the time were eager to prevent the unifying of all their underlings, and there is ample evidence that significant sections of the upper classes stoked up the demagogy of those times (as in the Democratic Party ascendancy for ten years after the 1867 elections). But if the underlings, the working people themselves, ardently fight for division and genocide against one quarter of their number, and there is not even a lonely voice of conscience for twenty years, then the effects must be far more profound and lasting.

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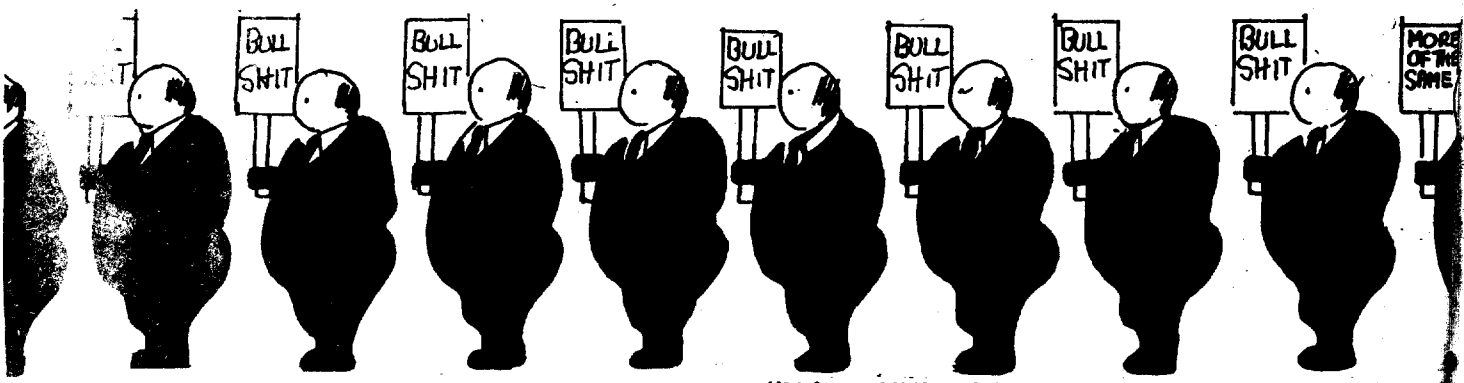
NOTES

1. Chiu, page 25
2. Chiu, page 27
3. Saxton, page 10
4. Saxton, page 10
5. Chiu, page 47
6. Cross, pages 84-85
7. Saxton, page 104
8. Bimba, page 159
9. Foner, page 489
10. Foner, page 489
11. Saxton, page 122
12. Ibid, page 221
13. Ibid, page 223
14. This was interesting: the Building Trades Council of SF would not give out any information but referred me to the Apprentice Opportunity Center. The AOC said they could not get their hands on any hard data as to number of Orientals in the craft unions since so many suits were pending against the unions for discrimination that they were sealing off the information. They said that finally in the last five years there have been some gains through a combination of pressures. In the last two years 10% of those who passed the electrician's apprentice test and were therefore *eligible* to get jobs, were Orientals. Of these, about five actually landed jobs. I also called the Human Relations Commission and was told that they could not get hard percentages of membership either but that I might find out from the AOC. Having arrived full circle I conclude that the unions have something to hide. Hence the phrase "a tiny percentage." The people at the AOC and HRC both assured me "tiny percentage" was unassailable, and I felt the reactions I got nearly prove the case in themselves.




## POEM FOR POSTIES

Ten solemn fat cats harass the picket line.
A striker reports extortion and then there are nine.
Nine lowly business men cry about the stalemate.
One goes out of business leaving only eight.
Eight morbid money men claim privileges from heaven.
Workers shout their views to hell and then there are seven.
Seven wage freeze theories, Trudeau's men are in a
[illegible] posties say "stick them where the sun don't shine", and then there are six.
A government handbook on unemployment — "six ways to stay alive",
"30 for 40!" the picketers scream, now there are five.
Five stores' unmailed catalogues invite us to spend more.
One dies from lack of business, now there are four.
Four stainless-steel computers tell the workers when to pee.
As one, we tug and pull the plug, now there are three.
Union leadership is wavering but P.A.C. knows what to do.
So many union problems have diminished now to two.
Two stupid editorials are published in the "Sun".
The people laugh the paper down and now there's seldom one.
One petty politician, a tear is in his eye —
The posties won! the battle's done — capitalism will die!

# IS SWEDEN SOCIALIST?

Socialized medicine, cooperatives, state control over tobacco and liquor monopolies, and the highest wages in Europe ($7,000 a year for the average industrial worker) make Sweden sound like a worker's dream. Tom Wicker of the New York **Times** (5/21/74) says that overhauling the Volvo production lines to teams of 15 workers and eliminating overhead conveyor belts have made workers "more fulfilled."

But this decade has also seen bounding inflation —steak $4 a lb., beer $1 a glass, and a severe housing shortage. Despite the fact that 95% of the workforce is unionized, the workweek remains long; 42-1/2 hours. The "state capitalist" government which bragged of solving the problem of unemployment has been unable to control 4 and 5% unemployment during the early 70s.* And a country that sets education standards of free materials, texts and lunches for 9 years of school sends only 5% of high school graduates on to college. Since 1969, 47,000 white collar workers went out on strike, and 4700 Kiruna miners wildcatted following a walkout of 1000 dockers at Goteborg, with a Volvo plant wildcat in that same city.

Several questions arise out of this bundle of contradictions: Is Sweden a socialist country? If not, does state capitalism really work? To what can workers attribute their relatively high standard of living, as well as their setbacks? Precisely why has Sweden remained relatively prosperous? Lastly, do Sweden's workers need a Marxist-Leninist party; does one exist? This article will attempt to answer these questions through a look at the economy, history and the role of communists in the working class struggle.

*As of December 1975, unemployment is approximately 450.000 (6.6 per cent). Shipbuilding has been hard hit, with 1000 out of 8000 laid off.3,000 were laid off in textile alone during 1975. Prices rose 10 per cent between December 1974 and December 1975.

**Is Sweden a Socialist Country?** The answer to this question lies in one fundamental argument: What class holds state power and owns the means of production?

First, 90% of the country's industry is privately owned. There are fifteen families who control the majority of Sweden's assets (date from C-H. Hermansson's **The Fifteen Families;** not yet translated into English but similar to **The Rich and the Super Rich** by Lundberg), the most powerful being the Marcus Wallenberg and Axel Johnson families. Wallenberg's bank recently merged with the second largest bank in Sweden to become the Skannaviska-Enskilda Banken, now by far the largest. The bank controls ASEA, the largest engineering and manufacturing company in Sweden. (Fortune magazine's listing of the one hundred biggest international corporations has ASEA among the top sixty.) The Wallenbergs also own Volvo, Saab automobiles and airplanes, farm equipment, most of the shipping industry, ball bearings and manufacturing machinery. Wallenberg and Johnson are considered close to the same economic level as the Rockefellers, speaking at conferences with Nelson. The fifteen leading Swedish families together have imperialist interests in Latin America, Thailand, Portugal, Eastern Europe and Cuba. These fifteen families certainly control the employers' association organized in 1902 in answer to the national industrial unionization of most workers in 1898.

**Does Sweden's "State Capitalism" Mean Government Control over Business?** If workers do not own the means of production in Sweden, then do workers control business indirectly through either 1) the government and army, 2) cooperatives or 3) state control over monopolies.

(1) One large degree of "government control" over private industry lies in the field of ownership of raw materials where 50% of the mines are controlled by the private companies and 50% by the state. Fifteen million acres of forest are privately owned and 10 million owned by the state.

e depression, the state deferred s' royalty payments on iron ore, ers struck in 1970, the government eral troops who fought the strikers. federal troops have used violence kers. Then, in the Aadalen woodpulp ernment troops fired on the strikers, killing four men and a girl. So much for the myth that Sweden's state operates in the interest of the working class. To the contrary, the state works for the fifteen families.

(2) The cooperative movement, Kooperativa Forbunder, has grown a bit since its inception in 1899. The cooperatives were formed by consumers themselves, who believed that if they banded together in the own self-interest they could curb the greed of monopoly. Co-ops now control the market of flour, automobile tires, insurance, galoshes and electricity. One-third of all working class households belong to one cooperative or another.

However, it is interesting to note the history of when these consumer goods turned "co-op," i.e., in 1909, a state power system was created in the middle of a general strike which involved over three-quarters of the entire work force. The cooperatives were "allowed" by the government to buy the largest flour mill in 1922 during a time of deep unemployment and sharp class struggle (8,943,000 workers were involved in a total of 486 strikes in one year—(New York **Times**, 1/31/37). Considerable press publicity was given to the debate as to whether or not the co-ops should be allowed to bring down the price of bread a few pennies.

The market and production of cooperative goods remains primarily nationalistic, with the exception of light bulbs, where Luna Lamps competes with General Electric, 22¢ to 37¢, and has markets in Argentina, Brazil, Iceland and Egypt. But for most consumer goods, inflation coexists with fluctuations in the world market, and nationalistic cooperative cannot solve international contradictions in a eting a country's economy. (Even Kissinger dmits in an interview reported in **Business** eek, 1/13/75, tha President Roosevelt "could g ong for several years without a great improve t in the economic conditions because the publ e ieved he was dealing with the problems. Ti anger of purely national policies is that they e patently inadequate for dealing with economic blems—especially in Europe.") Today th erative Forbunder, after 75 years, contro 10% of the retail and wholesale trade.

) S trol over monopolies such as gasolin , c bacco and liquor imply state supervis on ivate operation, a cutting down on pr e government itself admits that, be tobacco control in 1915, they used 'hi enforce a hidden tax on workers to ay n costs. The indirect taxes on the abo ities make up for capitalism's ina non-profitable budget items in priority, such as pensions.

Sweden's workers already pay about half of their income in direct and indirect taxes (Fact Sheets on Sweden; Swedish Information Service; 825 Third Ave., NYC 10022): 25% of disposable income after direct taxes goes to indirect taxes. $6,666 income pays 48% taxes; $12,800 pays 61%. Sales tax is 17.65%, including all food items. (It's included in the price, a value-added tax.)

**Will the Government Attempt to "Control" all industry?** The government has made a political decision, however, not to control munitions or take over 100% of the mining and forestry industries. This is because the decline in the world market for iron, steel, munitions and wood products is quite beyond the control of the Swedish government. The resulting unemployment would become a political issue and "would have been met with an expedient political solution." (**Sweden: The Middle Way**, p. 72) Clearly, the political battle for state power is the fight for socialism, and the rulers of Sweden know this as well as bosses in every country of the world. It becomes more evident that Sweden is not at all socialist. How can it be said that workers are in power so long as bosses control the economy and government?

**Why Do Swedish Workers Have a Relatively High Standard of Living?** Swedish workers have gained a relatively high hourly wage, much decent housing and medical care. The per capita gross national product is $3,241 (in 1967; see Schnitzer, p. 27), compared to $3,966 for the U.S., $2,808 for Canada and $1,709 for the U.K. Housing expenses still amount to only 10-15% of a family's income, though there has been a recent housing shortage. Temporarily, unemployment has become less of a problem as workers have been shifted to developing relocated industries in northern Sweden.

Medical care, covered by compulsory health insurance since 1955, includes the cost of hospitalization, major costs of doctors' fees and medicine, daily sick leave benefits, prenatal and delivery care, and cash payment when a child is born. There is a tax-free yearly allowance for all children under six years of age. Women who are at least a year on the job get six months' leave of absence for maternity, with 2/3 income.

There are adequate day nurseries and free vacation travel for mothers and children whose father is not living with them. Vacation is four weeks for every worker. Low income families receive housing subsidies. Workers over 67 years receive a basic pension ($2,644/year for a married couple; $1,700 for a single person), which is adjusted for the cost of living. Sweden's social welfare budget is 15% of the national income.

For every cent of these wages and benefits—which the Swedish capitalists try to take back at every opportunity—Swedish workers have struggled, for centuries. They fought their way out of feudalism of the 16th century and famine of the 19th and 20th centuries. The following section

also shows how the militancy of communist leadership won the biggest gains in working and living conditions.

**Peasant Revolts**—Even in feudal times (there still is considerable debate as to the nature of agricultural labor during the medieval period as serfdom didn't take the same form as it did in France and Britain; the serf wasn't as tied to the land in Sweden, being more like a tenant farmer.) were in the forefront of peasant struggles for better living conditions. Prior to the great peasant revolts of 1434, workers in the copper mines of Kopparberget rebelled against famine and working conditions. There were laws since 1347 forbidding workers in copper mines to carry weapons. However, the masters of the mines were permitted swords, shields, iron hats and gauntlets, and it was written in the laws the owners could be fully armed if the workers caused trouble to the mines (with their rotten, unsafe shafts).

In 1432, a crowd marched to the Bailiff's house in Vasteras to protest excessive taxes and famine. Vasteras was in 1433 the scene of the first demonstration in Sweden. Famine was the main cause of the peasant risings led by Engelbrekt in 1434. This revolt was largely aimed at individual lords. Twenty five castles were burned to the ground.

The Swedish aristocracy began to organize as a class against the peasants. They met in 1437 to plan the consolidation of their armies around "national interest for the renaissance State of Sweden." Led by King Gustav and Karl Bonde, they fought the peasants in the name of "Sweden for the Swedes; lords and peasants united against the Danes." (To this day, Swedish rulers promote nationalism against the Danes and until 1930 school textbooks reflected the Danish people as (Sweden's main enemy. Gustav Vasa, on the other hand, is portrayed as the father of his country who cared for his subjects as if they had been his own children. But between the years of 1525 and 1543, his subjects' affection took the form of five revolts against him!) Working class people will not continue to be fooled to fight their brothers, however, and in 1597 Varend peasants defied the central authorities in Stockholm by rejecting demands that they should join the war against the Danes.

**Up to and After Sweden Became Industrialized**—From the period of peasant rebellions through the industrial "revolution,"[1] there was a gradual uprooting—the enclosure movement—of peasants and small farmers to urban areas. This was no planned development, and as in my capitalist country, the small farmers were starved out, found little work in the cities, and the industrial working class suffered before they became organized, while profits leaped ahead.

During the 19th century, 20% of Sweden's population emigrated to escape famine conditions! (The class consciousness of these emigrants arose from the conditions in Sweden and contributed to the U.S. class struggle, witness leaders like Joe Hill.) Between 1830 and 1860, industrial statistics indicate that the number of workers employed in factories increased by about 3-1/2 per cent per year, whereas value of output rose by about 10/year (Jorberg, p. 260). While farmers were desperately leaving the country in search of food for their families, Sweden's exports of food, especially during the 1850s and 1870s, increased with international demand. Big business agriculture could respond to this international demand with such surprising speed precisely because they could consolidate land left by those starving workers fleeing the country!

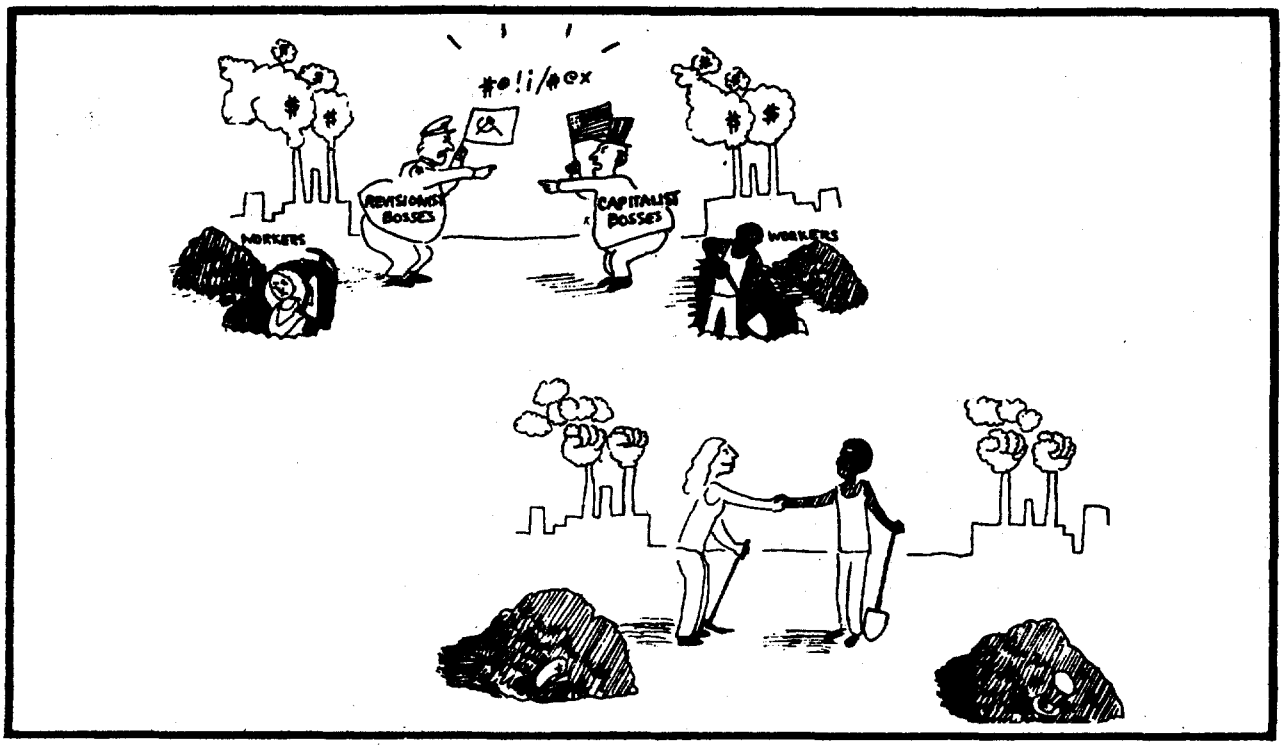
At this time, the wage level of Swedish workers was lower than that in Germany and England; Swedish business, though not the Swedish worker, benefitted in competition. The profits were partly due to the fact that during the 1870s, trade terms were extremely advantageous to Sweden, the prices of her exports rising much farther than those of her imports. Once again in the late 1880s, European trade terms became favorable to Sweden.

**Swedish Workers Fight Back - 1879 to the Present**—In 1879 the first major strike took place in sawmills. This was late, relative to western Europe, for workers to begin to fight back in an organized way. This is because Swedish lumber industries and the ironworks, two major industries, existed in isolated, rural communities. And in the ironworks, there was a traditional bond between employer and employee, similar to a guild apprenticeship. Workers were totally dependent on the owners for housing and food. Therefore, it wasn't until the 1880s that these industries began seriously organizing as a class. In 1898, the vast industrial union affiliation composed of thirty seven unions, Landsorganisationen (LO), was formed.

Sweden's bosses weren't far behind to organize themselves nationally as well. In 1902, the employers' association was formed as the collective bargaining agent for the ruling class. Ideologically, big business in Sweden began a campaign to pervert the united struggle of workers into working within the system. Thereby they allowed the first cooperative union to be formed in 1899; in the early twenty century, voting propaganda came out in full strength proclaiming universal suffrage as the road to change.

But workers continued to take a stand against the bosses and their government. In 1905 when the government attempted to gain support to fight Norwegian workers so that Sweden could retain control over Norway, Swedish workers took the position of refusing to take up arms (New York **Times**, 6/15/05). Swedish labor unions sent daily telegrams to Norwegian unions saying they would refuse to fight their brothers. As a result, Norway's request for independence was settled peacefully.

1 There was no armed bourgeoisie revolution in Sweden as there was in France and England; it took the form of gradual political consolidation from on top, through the Swedish parliament.




In 1902 and 1905 workers threatened a general strike against bad working conditions, for higher wages and the right to vote without contingent property qualifications. Employers continued to divert militancy into the ballot box without actually granting the right to vote to the majority of workers. It wasn't until the rebellions of 1907 that the government granted suffrage, then only for men.

However, workers quickly learned that voting didn't better their lives, and as the depression deepened, in early 1909, the LO threatened to strike once again. The workers realized that the threat was empty unless they could back it by action now. Already in July, the employers were attempting to reduce already starvation wages, and the LO called the workers out in general strike on August 4.

Garment workers, paper pulp and sawmills were among the first workers to go out of the 150,000 mobilized by the LO. Unorganized and unemployed workers joined the ranks. Ultimately over three-fourths of the workers were on the streets.

> No screaming factory whistles are heard. Not a wisp of smoke rises from a single one of the city's many factory chimneys. No wheels are turning, no steam puffing... What powerful hand has arrested all this machinery? No ringing hammer strokes from work shop or plant greet this approaching day. No wagons or trucks come rumbling in the streets. Not the rattle of a single cart breaks this unnatural stillness. Not a streetcar is running. (Gosta Larsson, **Our Daily Bread**, p. 279-80)

But from the first meeting of the masses of workers in People's Park, Stockholm, there were weaknesses in the strike which produced its defeat. Two of the Social Democrats, Hjalmar and Branting, leaders of the LO, said the strike should not interfere with sanitation, illumination, water, railroads, postal service or care of the sick.

Because there was no leadership in the LO as to the politics of which side the government was on, it was no surprise that the federal railroad employees voted not to strike, not being able to bring themselves to strike against "the state." The leadership of the LO allowed the mails to be carried as usual for the same reason. Also, the leadership proclaimed a pact of non-violence, though throughout the strike, while workers were starving, the government didn't hesitate to call out troops to guard the railroads and post offices.

Employers were thus able to publish their side of the struggle by making full use of the mails and railroads in those days of no radio. In contrast, the workers had to rely on speakers traveling from city to city with often delayed news. Of course, the railroads did not transport adequate food for the workers, especially those in the major cities, and the combination of lack of militancy, proper leadership, famine and resulting low morale brought the end of the greatest general strike in the history of Sweden on December 15. Lack of confidence in the LO leadership came out during the following three years, when 100,000 dues paying members dropped out. The only gains from this strike were the lowering of commodity prices a bit, i.e., in the form of state ownership of power. There was no significant increase in wages.

Despite rotten conditions on the homefront, Swedish workers could not be encouraged to take up arms against another country (even though the bosses insisted better wages would result). At the beginning of World War I, Socialists in Stockholm led a demonstration of 30,000 against arms escalation (New York **Times**, 2/9/14). Thus the Swedish government was forced to play a "neutral" role, selling manufacturing goods and raw materials, primarily to Germany. As a result, the allies blocked shipments of food coming into Sweden, and prices for Swedish workers skyrocketed. In 1917 there were food shortage demonstrations in the major cities as workers fought back. To try to stem their militancy, the government continued to encourage cooperatives and state control over commodities. At this time, tobacco and galoshes became state controlled and cooperative, respectively.

Beginning in 1919, however, the workers began organizing with greater intensity. The seamen won the eight hour day. In the early 1920s, out of a population of 6,000,000, there were 8,943,000 workers involved in one or several strikes.[2] The 48 hour work week was won then for most workers. In the battle for higher wages, the 1920s saw a violent telephone strike and 17,000 pulp workers out. In 1923, for the first five months of the year, production was virtually at a standstill in sawmills, woodpulp industry and ironworks as 60,000 workers closed shops. Unemployment was 186,000 in 1920; down to 96,000 by the end of 1921; and to 37,000 in 1922 as a result of the tremendous struggles by workers at that time.

It was the leadership of the LO in 1922 that agreed to a 33% wage cut. It was only because of the continued militancy of the rank and file, therefore, starting with that great strike wave in 1923, that real wages at last began to rise throughout the rest of the 1920s (**An Economic History of Sweden**, p. 277).

Communists in 1925 proposed a general strike of the LO since the employers' organization was already planning a lockout to lower wages again, but the leadership of the LO decided without a vote of the rank and file that they would keep "absolute quiet and await development" (New York **Times**, 3/25/25). Thus, separate agreements for lesser wages were reached with the lumber yard workers, cloak makers and coal distributers. The logic of this misleadership in 1928 resulted in anti-strike laws passed by the federal government affecting ALL contracts.

Not until 1931, when communists assumed leadership of the Adalen woodpulp strike, did workers once again exercise the strength and ability they'd shown in the early 1920s. The unity of workers and sympathy strikes which were spreading all over the country brought tremendous support, and a general strike was immediately ordered by communists throughout Adalen.

The government recognized the power in the working class even more than did the workers themselves. They ordered out federal troops and infantry to fight for the first time in Swedish history, killing five workers. The next day building workers struck, municipal workers followed, and communists led protest meetings in Stockholm against the killings. 100,000 workers marched in Stockholm to mourn the deaths of their brothers. The cortege marched to the burial ground between lines of workmen holding red flags (New York **Times**, 5/20/31).

The area of Adalen was now completely controlled by Communist-led workers, and soon the Kirstlansand timber district was under workers' control as well. But the failure of communist leadership to spread the strike to the rest of Sweden and the fact that they emphasized organizing around mourning rather than furthering a higher level of struggle led to the end of workers' rule in Adalen.

Yet the 30s and 40s saw communist leadership winning the most permanent demands of workers in the history of Sweden. On May 1, 1933, masses marched in Stockholm, with communists in the lead; in 1934, the working class won unemployment insurance. (In January 1933, 189,225 were unemployed in a population of a little over 6 million. Only 22% of these were given jobs through the government work relief system. This work largely consisted of producing armaments for export to pre-war Germany.)

Workers recognized the necessity of communist leadership over and over. When the ruling class arrested communists during the late 30s, it was because Sweden was consolidating their "neutral" position of World War II—selling goods to both sides—and they wanted no interference from workers with communist ideas. But the Goethe shipyard workers in 1940 adopted the following resolution:

> We have nothing in common with the burgher class in Sweden, France of any other country. Our allies in the struggle against the wealthy oppressors in capitalism and for the establishment of socialism are the workers of France, the Soviet Union and all other countries. Our common enemy is the burgher class of all countries and our goal is the abolition of capitalism and creation of a socialist community system all over the world.

A communist was reinstated at a torpedo factory in 1951 because of the support of the workers there. The government was forced to issue the following statement in answer to lobbying by business interests against the reinstatement, "This decision can be overruled by the government only at the risk of starting nationwide strikes in key defense industries" (New York **Times**, 9/25/51).

Despite attacks on communists they continued to lead the strikes of the 40s and 50s and the

2 That year 33 million rubles were collected in Petrograd in support of Swedish workmen by the international strike fund.

protests of Sweden's role of whore in World War II. In 1943 there were demonstrations against the deportation of German students in the universities of Norway and Sweden. When the "neutral" Swedish government acted to cancel the deportations from Swedish universities, Norwegian and Swedish students and professors united for similar amnesty for German students in Norway's universities.

In 1945, metal and engineering workers walked out around wage demands, as did 22,000 metal and shipyard workers in 1947. But the strategic weakness of the communist leadership then as before was that they limited their demands and focus solely to trade union issues such as higher wages, never with the outlook of fighting for socialism as a long range goal. 1951 brought increasing (25-50%) inflation and increased taxes. Then crane workers, slaughterhouse workers, public market staff, stokers and cleaners united around a wage increase and one year contracts.

Leadership in struggles during the 50s was mainly around higher pay during this period of overemployment, and since no demands were made for a shorter work week, Swedish workers until 1966 were working a 48-hour work week. In contrast, U.S. workers won a 40-hour work week thirty years prior, after the Flint, Michigan auto strike in 1937.

Therefore, it's been 75 years of organized struggle—and the increasing fear of Sweden's bosses of another, more successful general strike (that could turn into a revolution), that have brought concessions and whatever standard of living Swedish workers have. It has not been the generosity of Wallenberg which has forced employers to pay the government to retrain 15,000 workers a year or pay for 240 hours of language education for immigrant workers. "Socialized medicine" has been won on the picket lines of capitalism, and maternity benefits reflect the fact that men and women have been united in the LO since the beginning, (twenty per cent of the LO are women).

Before understanding some of the new factors present in Sweden's economy today and the growth of communist parties there, we must examine some ingredients in addition to the class struggle that have contributed to Sweden's relatively high economic status. 1) Sweden's wartime neutrality, 2) internal unity of the ruling class, 3) natural resources, 4) long-range planning and 5) religion.

(1) Sweden has been a country of uninterrupted international peace since 1815. Partly, this "neutral" role of the nation can be attributed to the working class refusing to fight for gains of big business, as we have seen during both World-Wars. As early as 1709, when Charles XII tried to attack Russia, the soldiers refused to fight because generals in the armies had bungled so many foreign wars, and there were famine conditions at home which didn't lend to support for a conquest of even more territory.

The neutral role of Sweden has not only resulted in qualitatively less "dead" capital loss on armament spending, but her role as a whore during both World Wars has been a most profitable one. For example, Sweden sold armaments to both sides, specializing in ball bearings, which are essential to operating most war equipment. She sold food and manufactured goods to Germany to the detriment of her own working class. In World War II, the role of "neutrality" led to her opening her doors to Nazi soldiers who marched through Sweden to attack Norway. Even today, the workers of Norway have not forgiven the Swedish government their "neutrality."

(2) The internal unity of Sweden's ruling class stems from the middle ages where autarky, the insignificance of foreign trade, prevailed. The Hanseatic League, dominated by Germany, controlled most of the European trade, and actually forbade Sweden to trade with any of the Mediterranean countries. Sweden was thus forced to develop efficiently her natural resources.

The inland cities primarily produced domestic goods, and cities along the coast dealt in trade. There was much better trade and communication between cities in Sweden than even in Germany because of the need to develop this self-sufficiency. The deep winter snow actually made access easier over the ruts and gullies than in more southern European countries where roads became impassable in wintertime. Also, reliance on a few major industries such as iron ore and timber products produced the need for tighter planning for internal use, manufacture and export. This was why the employers were more able to form an organization together in response to the LO and why there hasn't been the conflict between "old" money and "new" money for overseas investment policies, leading to such fiascos as Watergate in the U.S.

However, the goods on which Sweden relies—timber, wood, iron ore and iron manufacture—are more subject to violent price fluctuations on the international market than consumer goods. Since 1857, therefore, Sweden's economy has reflected the fluctuations in the international business cycles. This is the main reason why Sweden's economy is in deepening trouble today, despite the fact that her ruling class is somewhat unified; in addition, she relies on other countries for crude oil and petroleum products, the heart of international contradictions today.

(3) Sweden has much of the purest, highest grade iron ore in the world. Her forests supply ample pulp and wood product needs for the nation and for considerable export. Sweden is self-sufficient in grain, meat, and has a surplus of butter, having only to import many fresh fruits and vegetables.

(4) As a result of their unity, Sweden's ruling class has been able to plan ahead some fifteen years at a time. She has been able to keep unemployment down—a concession forced by workers fighting for jobs—by relocating and retraining workers laid off by business failures. The em-

ployers figure in advance where to send laid-off workers, and have been forced to pay for all moving expenses.

This ability to plan ahead has also resulted in more emphasis on quality of Swedish products, i.e., engineering excellence. In the long run, Swedish steel quality and high technical skills have resulted in higher profits because of this long-range outlook and the market demand for quality in certain goods.

(5) There has been only one major religion in Sweden (Lutheranism is a state religion, compulsorily taught in school and financed by the government), and the lesser lords were therefore unable to use religion as an ideological excuse to divide and conquer feudal lands. Even in the middle ages, fewer resources were used for internal wars than in countries such as Spain, for example. (The dominance of the Protestant religion accounts for the answer to the question often raised: Is there a higher suicide rate in Sweden; are workers perhaps so bored there because of their luxurious style of life? According to international statistics, those countries which are predominately or even in large part Catholic, traditionally do not report deaths which are suicides. In order to have a church burial in the first place, they cannot be recorded as having died of suicide. It is estimated that suicide rates are no higher in any particular country of the world.) The only organization larger than the church is the nykterhetsrorelsen, the prohibitionist movement, preaching self-righteousness, duty to the country, etc.

Since 1966, the working class of Sweden has been fighting back in a qualitatively different way. In that year, bosses "averted a lockout of 1,000,000 workers" (New York **Times**, 4/3/66—translated from the capitalist-newspeak that means a million workers were prepared to walk out), and for the first time in forty years the work week was reduced, to 42-1/2 hours. Also, the traditional disparity in wages between blue and white collar workers is lessening as teachers, railwaymen (federal employees) and civil servants demand equal-in-percentage raises to blue-collar workers (during the strikes of 1969, demands of 10% wage increase were put forth rather than the traditional 5%).

The wildcat strike in 1970 of the Kiruna miners was the first major wildcat strike to defy both the sellout misleadership of the LO and illegality of federal workers to strike. The walls of the workers' headquarters were plastered with telegrams of support from workers throughout the country. One of the demands was for a smaller differential between blue and white collar wages.

Kiruna is the largest underground mine in the world. The strike was also in protest of unsafe working conditions, the mines being continuously full of gas from diesels and explosives. The workers wildcatted because the union didn't work in the interest of workers (New York **Times**,

**"Nine o'clock. The frontier is being steadily pushed back, the redskins eliminated, the blacks enslaved; our heretics are safe in jail, our children respectful, the women are still firmly in their place.—And all's well."**

1/8/70) and because wage increases had been eroded by job re-evaluations. "The workers in each area repudiated their own local union officials and established their own strike committee which aired old, ignored grievances (New York **Times**, ibid).

In February 1971, the National Confederation of Professional Employees and the National Confederation of Government Employees (a total of 120,000 workers) went out in what the government termed the "worst" strike since the metal and engineering walkout of 1945 (New York **Times**, 2/24/71). But this renewed working class militancy cries out for communist leadership to unite more workers and spread their actions and raise the level of struggle to higher political demands, to socialism.

**Swedish Communist Parties.** The first Swedish Communist Party was formed long before the Russian revolution; it was then called the Social Democratic Party. Many leaders of the Swedish Communist Party came from Russia. Lenin's wife was in Sweden while he was in exile in Switzerland, and they were considering setting up their international headquarters in Sweden. When Lenin went by sealed train from Switzerland to Russia, he went through Sweden.

During the 20s and 30s, the Swedish CP didn't fall into the pattern as the formation of the other Social Democratic Parties of Europe. These parties were formed as a result of splits in the second International, whereas Sweden's Social Democratic Party remained the same in **form** from its inception. Its content, that of international solidarity, and militancy, remained stronger through the 50s, though it never put forward the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat,

and even the call for socialism was dropped by the 50s.

Today, there are two communist parties in Sweden, the VPK, which follows Russian revisionism, and the SKP (called the KFML prior to 1975, changing its name when the VPK ceased to call itself the Communist Party), which stands for Swedish Communist Party. The SKP was founded around the same time as the Progressive Labor Party in the U.S., around many of the same militant tenants. However, the SKP sees revisionism as an enemy of secondary importance, secondary to imperialism. They have an uncritical attitude toward China's international policies (for example, proclaiming Nixon's visit there as a victory for workers of the world).

The SKP built a mass movement during the 60s against the Vietnam war, forcing the Swedish government to become the first western power to recognize North Vietnam. They organized in the high schools, and a youth group was formed.* The SKP forms caucuses in the trade unions and is becoming increasingly working class, but at this time, the VPK controls more in the unions, i.e., the construction workers and typographical workers. Social Democrats form the leadership of most of the rest of the 37 unions in the LO.

At this time, the VPK has more workers in the organization, but the situation changes every day as the leadership of the VPK lags further and further behind the workers themselves. For example, the leader of the VPK, C-H Hermansson (the author of the book of the fifteen families) is being forced to resign. (His wife is a millionairess, herself a member of one of the fifteen families!) Meanwhile, more workers are attracted to and are joining the SKP.

Will the SKP be the organization to lead a successful socialist revolution in Sweden? History carries no guarantees, and it's possible a third communist party will form or split from the SKP. But whatever the name of the communist party, history will march on and no revolution will occur unless some of the lessons from Swedish and world history have been incorporated:

The entire state apparatus must be smashed, no peaceful negotiations or freedom shared with the bosses will consolidate workers' power;

There is no such thing as good bosses and bad bosses, no "lesser of two evil" revisionist leaders. When China and the U.S. collaborated to give money to West Pakistan, it was not the bosses of East Pakistan that got killed but East Pakistani workers. And China's recognition of fascist Marcos of the Philippines can bode no good for workers;

No co-ops or "state capitalism" in any form will qualitatively improve conditions under capitalism. Only socialism, the abolishment of the profit system, can begin to solve workers' problems;

The communist party must have the strategy that the working class is the force for revolution; this means a strategy for control of the trade unions—not just caucuses within the unions—through militant tactics, general strikes leading to a revolution that takes advantage of Sweden's bosses' deepening economic crisis.

Swedish workers have proven themselves capable of fighting hard, efficiently organizing and defending communists and communist ideas like international solidarity. A more advanced communist party will bring all Swedish bosses to their knees, where they belong, and the Swedish working class into the dictatorship of the proletariat, which they deserve!

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*However, in the early '70 s, this group began to form coalitions with the VPK and even the Social Democrats. The result was that most of the progressive elements left and formed the KFML (r). The KFML(r) bookstores used to carry Challenge and PL magazine, but since our analysis of the backward leadership in China, they think PL "reactionary," and to them, China and Albania are glowing examples of Socialism. Today, the SKP is relatively ineffective; the KFML(r) persists in high school and trade union work.

# ZIONISM

Auschwitz, 1940

Tel Aviv, 1972

# boomerang of racism

History is full of peculiar twists and turns—ironies. But irony is not mere fluff, whimsy, or contradiction; it forms an integral part of the condition in which it takes shape.

Irony was present in the 1961 trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem. In April of that year the ex-traveling salesman for the Austrian Vacuum Oil Company, the man who once boasted that he would "jump into (his) grave laughing"1 because he had killed five million Jews, peered at his Israeli prosecutors from out of a bullet-proof glass cage. What had made him do it? For many this—not **how** he had done it—was the most intriguing question.

**Idealism**, came the frequent reply from the former expert on the Jewish Question in Heinrich Himmler's Security Service—the same unfaltering "idealism," Eichmann hastened to add, which had lifted the Zionist movement toward its goal: the creation of a Jewish state. It was precisely this idealism, he elaborated, which had given his wartime dealings with ranking officials of the world Zionist movement that added measure of satisfaction which had sustained his own idealism. He paid tribute, for example, to Dr. Rudolf Kastner, the former Israeli Minister of Trade, who had been tried by the Israeli government six years earlier on charges stemming from his wartime collaboration with Eichmann himself and with other Nazi officials. Kastner, the founder of the Hungarian Relief and Rescue Committee, negotiated the "illegal" transfer to Palestine of a few thousand prominent Jews and young Zionists—"the best biological material"— pledging in return to maintain "quiet and order" in the deportation camps.2 And then there was Joel Brand, another "idealist." A high official in Kastner's Rescue Committee, Brand bargained with Eichmann and Himmler for the lives of a million Jews in exchange for 10,000 trucks, the so-called "Cargo for Blood" mission.

Eichmann also fondly recalled Dr. Paul Eppstein, in charge of the emigration department of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany, the Nazi-appointed "Jewish government" in which all leading positions were occupied by Zionists. Eppstein, after all, had eased Richmann's burdensome job considerably by organizing Jewish deportations from Germany with a minimum of friction: a Jewish police force rounded up the pinned quarry. As a reward, Eichmann later appointed Eppstein a Jewish Elder in Theresienstadt, the showcase concentration camp forty miles north of Prague and the promised land for many Jews who had acquitted themselves well in the service of the Nazis. There, Eppstein and his Zionist cronies instituted a reign of unmitigated corruption while their Nazi "benefactors" watched in glee.3

He was shot in September 1944, his service notwithstanding.

Wartime collaboration between Zionists and Nazis built on solid foundations. Shortly after the latter came to power in 1933, they worked out a special deal with the agencies of world Zionism: Jews who wished to leave Germany for Palestine could circumvent the prevailing restrictions on the export of capital by transferring their money in German goods, for which they would be reimbursed in British pounds upon arrival in Palestine. It mattered little to the Zionists that this transfer agreement sabotaged the efforts of world

Jewry to mount an economic boycott of German goods in retaliation for Nazi persecution of German Jewry. The agreement remained in force until the outbreak of war, weathering such milestones in anti-Jewish actions as the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, the racial laws which robbed Jews of their German citizenship and the last vestiges of humanity, and the pogrom of November 9-10, 1938, the "night of the broken glass" and leaping flames.

In addition to this economic pact, the SS, Hitler's elite bodyguard, and the Gestapo (Secret Police) also furthered the illegal immigration of Jews to British-ruled Palestine—at the request of high-ranking Palestinian Jews who saw not Germany but Britain as the enemy at the gate. Later some of these Palestinian emissaries were given permission to pick sound human material destined for Palestine from the human wreckage of the concentration camps.[4]

Nazis consistently favored Zionists over non-Zionists. In Germany, between 1933 and 1939, powerful Nazis like Reinhardt Heydrich, "the real engineer of the Final Solution," chief of the Reich Security Service, a department in the SS, backed Zionist attempts to take control of the Jewish community. Zionists were granted privileges denied to other Jewish groups. Their youth formations were allowed to parade in uniforms, the Jewish flag (the current flag of Israel) could be hoisted from Jewish homes, and Zionists were given relatively easy access to Nazi officialdom, at least in the early years.

**There was nothing mysterious about this preferred status of Zionism. Zionists and Nazis cultivated a common ground: both wanted to make Germany** Judenrein **(free of Jews), both spoke the language of racial incompatibility, and both gave pre-eminence to the mystical bond of soil and blood as the** sine qua non **of any people worth its salt. The privileged position German Zionism enjoyed under the aegis of the Nazis emboldened it to demand, in May of 1935, "the right to influence decisively the entire Jewish life in Germany."[5] Four years later the Nazis appointed the Association of Jews in Germany and filled all important positions with Zionists.**

These instances of Zionist collaboration and opportunism are not "accidents" of history. They cannot be brushed away with the standard argument that Zionists bowed to superior force. There are no "accidents" in history; nor are the cited incidents isolated ones, dark spots on an otherwise unblemished blotter. They are the natural outcome of Zionism, the corrupt and bankrupt ideology masquerading as the salvation of the Jewish people, and they show that the racism, oppression, imperialism and governmental corruption that characterize Israel today likewise are not "accidents" but part and parcel of the Zionist vision, as elaborated and pursued by Theodor Herzl, the creator of political Zionism.

Who was Theodor Herzl? Theodor Herzl is the George Washington of the state of Israel. But unlike George Washington he never claimed that he could not tell a lie, and during his lifetime he told many, small ones and big ones. The biggest lie he told was that he could solve the Jewish question; this big lie came to be called Zionism, the political movement which created a Jewish state.

The son of middle class Jewish parents, Theodor Herzl was born in Budapest, Hungary, in 1860. Hungary then was a part of the Austrian Empire, the showcase of the European "nationality problem." Over the course of centuries of dynastic pyramiding and tribal warfare among Europe's princely class, Italians, Czechs, Yugoslavs and a half dozen or so other nationalities strove for political independence within Austria's scattered territories. During the first half of the nineteenth century the empire was sent repeatedly reeling by national and democratic revolutions; each time, generously aided by a clique of reactionary European powers, it was put back on its feet. In the third quarter of the century, however, it was not quite so lucky: its Italian possessions in the west cast off the imperial yoke, and in central Europe Prussia ended Austria's longstanding hegemony there by routing her armies in the Seven Weeks' War of 1866.

Austria's nationality problem was one recurrent topic of conversation in the Herzl household; anti-semitism another. The Germanic heartland of Europe saw the birth of the modern, racist form of anti-semitism. As a schoolboy Theodor Herzl experienced the humiliation of the worst explosion of anti-semitism since the close of the Middle Ages. Touched off by the general European economic depression of 1873, this outburst of anti-semitism infected all countries and lasted for decades. Tsarist Russia uncorked a vintage pogrom in 1881; Hungary went through the Tisza Eszlar ritual murder trial; and almost before the ink had dried on the legislation granting civil rights to Jews, movements were afoot in Germany and Austria to curtail or rescind those rights.

Ominous as these developments were, they did not shatter Herzl's basic faith in the ultimate success of the Jews' adaptation to their non-Jewish environment. Firmly ingrained among Jewish liberals of the era was the belief that the current form of anti-semitism was essentially a vestigial medieval superstition in modern garb, that the irreversible tide of human progress would mean its death. Recent history—they argued—offered examples galore of talented, energetic Jews who had "made it" and earned the respect of the non-Jewish world.

But this was not the course Herzl initially chose to follow. He sought acceptance in the gentile world by ingratiating himself with the upper crust of society. As a university student, Herzl took as his model the decaying aristocracy of the Hapsburg Empire. During the day he sharpened his dueling skills; at night he dreamt of frock coats, gilt-edged invitations and carriages whisking him off to smart salons and fancy balls. The plays he produced while at school (his great

ambition was to acquire fame as an author) reflect this obsession with the nobility in them, the aristocrat is invariably portrayed as the embodiment of the highest human type and the enviable benefactor of all mankind.

But it was as a lawyer rather than a writer that Herzl began to support himself upon graduation. The decision to embark on a "safe" career was more that of his parents than his own, for throughout his entire life Herzl never took an important step without first consulting them, especially his mother.[6] It did not take him very long, however, to realize that being Jewish presented definite obstacles to a flourishing career in the king's pay and that he faced a life of frustration on the lower rungs of the civil service ladder. The aristocracy was unlikely to invite low-ranking state officials, let alone a low-ranking Jew, to its social functions, and with that future he would grow old surrounded by nonentities like himself. "He wanted success, standing, reputation, and he wanted them quickly,"[7] writes his sympathetic biographer, Alex Bein.

Fear of sinking to the level of the average man precipitated the decision to quit the law to become a professional author.[8] At first the results were encouraging. Several of his early efforts played in prestigious theaters in Berlin and Vienna, and for a brief period Herzl sampled the long-awaited pleasures of success. Life was a swirl of parties, expensive suppers, empty conversation. But even the frivolous bourgeoisie soon grew weary of Herzl's mild pieces of social protest, the trivial themes, the lack of real humor, the idle chitchat of the one-dimensional characters. After attending one of his plays, a famous German playwright advised him: "You ought to have a somewhat more respectful attitude toward humanity, you ought to look deeper into it."[9]

With poverty rather than the aristocracy knocking at his door, Herzl fell into a deep depression which lasted the entire winter of 1886-87. At last he was offered the position of journalist with Austria's most prestigious liberal daily, the Viennese **Neue Freie Presse**. Herzl was perfectly suited for this job. The stylized, geometrically balanced newspaper column formed the ideal medium for the shallow moralizing so dear to him.

And it was as the French correspondent for the **Neue Freie Presse** that Herzl covered the 1894 trial of Captain Dreyfus, the Jewish officer charged with passing French army secrets to the German High Command. Essentially an attempt of the French reaction, church and army to overthrow the Republic, the Kangaroo-court trial was accompanied by a wave of hysterical anti-semitism which set France on edge for more than a decade. If the civilized French, Herzl reasoned, could stoop so low, then there was no hope for Jews anywhere.

The Dreyfus Affair made Herzl a Zionist. Up to this point his attitude toward Jews had been one of contempt mixed with pity. In 1882 he speculated that the Jews of the past bore but little resemblance to thos[illegible] contemporary Jewr[illegible] disgust: "God!" he [illegible] come down!"[10] Afte[illegible] around the middle of t[illegible] parents: "Yesterday th[illegible] at Treitel's. Thirty cr[illegible] Jewesses. Not a very re[illegible]

Tall and handsome [illegible] Herzl boasted of being [illegible] anti-semitic stereotyp[illegible] who comes into con[illegible] diary in 1898 after me[illegible] ser, "must get the [illegible] proverbial Jew."[12] H[illegible] confided to a friend th[illegible] read: "He had too high[illegible]

Herzl not only was [illegible] "comedown" of the Je[illegible] know its cause. The det[illegible] of the Jews was due, h[illegible] non-Jews to marry Je[illegible] have repaired the biolo[illegible] and improved the raci[illegible] was too late: "The best we[illegible] ceed with the exceptional [illegible] voluntary conversion remai[illegible] tives. Children first, lest[illegible] revolutionaries. Herzl even[illegible] with the Pope: If the Pope [illegible] authority to the struggle a[illegible] he, Herzl, would place him[illegible] movement leading to the v[illegible] the Jews to Christianity. [illegible] to see him.)

The Jewish question continue[illegible]

Many concentration camp victims were bartered by some present Israeli rulers.

late as 1893—that is one year before the frame-up of Captain Dreyfus—Herzl still put his trust in a simple "aristocratic" solution to the problem. "Half a dozen duels will do a great deal to improve the position of the Jews in society," records his diary that year.[16]

Captain Dreyfus' deportation to Devil's Island convinced him that the Jewish problem went far deeper than he had anticipated. Neither education, dueling, intermarriage, nor baptism and papal intervention, concluded Herzl, could alleviate something so insidious. "I think the Jewish question is no more a social than a religious one," he stated in 1895. "It is a national question, which can only be solved by making it a political world-question to be discussed and settled by the civilized nations of the world in council."[17]

This was the theme of **The Jewish State. An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question** (1895). The **Communist Manifesto** of the Zionist movement, its message was simple and direct—and deceptive: "We are a people—one people,"[18] and we need a state. Only the creation of a Jewish state could bring the solution to the Jewish "world-question"; only there, in their own state, would the Jews be able to achieve complete emancipation; only then could they be truly free. The Jewish question was a question of race, of blood, and therefore inherently insoluble within the existing framework of conditions under which Jews lived. Since man is basically evil, all attempts at combating anti-semitism are futile; since man's character is determined by race, by blood, all efforts to assimilate must end in failure. "Universal brotherhood is not even a beautiful dream," wrote Herzl in **The Jewish State.** "Antagonism is essential to man's greatest efforts."[19]

The Jews needed a state, Herzl explained, because they had lost the organic relationship to the soil. All of their problems—degeneration of character, lack of political sophistication, hyper-intellectualism, parasitism, in short, the anti-semitic litany—stemmed from their two thousand year stateless existence. A Jewish state would make the Jews "whole" again; it would give the lie to the Jew-baiter's contention that the Jew was incapable of idealism, hated to get his hands dirty and was unfit for war. "They (the Jews) must be made strong for war, filled with the joy of work, penetrated by high virtues,"[20] Herzl told Baron de Hirsch, the French-Jewish financier. The world would come to know a type of Jew it had not seen for more than two thousand years: an idealistic pioneer, an heroic builder of the land—"muscle Jewry," as Max Nordau, Herzl's deputy, later put it. After serving a long racial apprenticeship, predicted Herzl, the Jews would once again become the flagship of humanity: "a wondrous generation of Jews will spring into existence. The Maccabeans will rise again."[21]

There was something in Herzl's "solution" for everyone. Millions of persecuted, starving Jewish proletarians from eastern Europe would find a haven from oppression while their wealthier brethren in the west would be spared the embarrassment of being associated in the popular mind with this poverty-stricken, motley crew of immigrants from the east. Anti-semitism would diminish as a matter of course; and because the excessive number of "mediocre Jewish intellects"[22] who were now entering the camp of socialism—the decade 1895-1905 was the period in which western Europe's working class scored its hitherto greatest victories—would find a constructive outlet for their energies in the construction of a Jewish state, the anti-semitic movement would be dealt a further blow. Thus not only the European ruling class but the Jews too would benefit by this draining off of revolutionary ferment, for, wrote Herzl "... we are certain to suffer very severely in the struggle between classes, because we stand in the most exposed position in the camps of both socialists and capitalists."[23]

Herzl fully realized that western Jewry possessed little of the stuff pioneers are made of. Therefore, the middle class Jewish intellectuals and men of wealth from the west must be the administrators and financiers, and the poor and persecuted Jewish masses from the east the shock troops[24]—"only the desperate make good conquerors"[25]—of the Zionist movement. To mobilize the Jewish poor, Herzl recommended the formation of a corporation known as "The Society of Jews" and a kind of joint stock company called the "Jewish Company"; he also envisaged the creation of a bank and substantial investments in the enterprise by wealthy Jews in Europe and the U.S.

And finally, the **pièce de résistance:** the argument for a Jewish state was capped by an appeal to the imperialistic interests of the great powers. Should the Sultan (the head of the Turkish Empire) give us Palestine, Herzl concluded the theoretical part of **The Jewish State**, "We should **there form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia,** an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism."[26]

To formulate the solution was one thing, to implement it quite another. It was to the latter problem that Herzl addressed himself after the publication of **The Jewish State.** The first Zionist Congress was held in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897. With more than a hundred delegates from all over the world in attendance, Herzl was elected president and Max Nordau vice-president of the Zionist movement. Statutes were enacted fixing its legal and organizational character. An official slogan was adopted: "Zionism seeks to establish for the Jewish people a legally secured homeland in Palestine."

Zionism now had a leader, a "government" and a "people"—but no state. The mandate of the Congress in his pocket, Herzl began to look around for a suitable territory. In **The Jewish State** he had fingered Palestine or Argentina as potential territorial candidates for a Jewish colony, but had leaned toward the former for emotional and practical reasons.

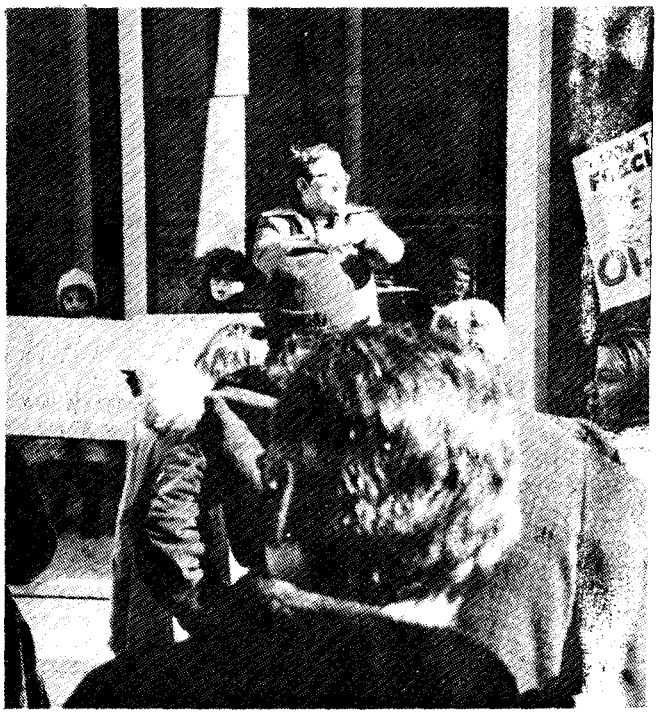
Palestine had been the site of previous Jewish states and might very well be the site of the next one, because Palestine currently was under the suzerainty of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire, contemptuously known among expansion-conscious European powers as the "sick man of Europe." Since the dreadful condition of the finances of the Turkish Empire made its partition among European powers a virtual certainty, Herzl offered to bail the Sultan out—for a price: Palestine.[27] Suspicious of a western plot to carve up his empire and fearful of fanning the flames of resurgent Arab nationalism, the Sultan refused the offer. Turkey, he explained in 1896 and again in 1901 when Herzl repeated his original terms, was willing to welcome Jewish refugees in all parts of the empire except Palestine, on the condition that they be scattered throughout his domains and become Turkish citizens.

Rebuffed by the Turks, Herzl tried to gain the ear of the German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, the European statesman most popular with the Sultan. Herzl was convinced that the Kaiser, "who was educated to the reception of great ideas,"[28] could be persuaded to support his demand for a Jewish state in Palestine. To sweeten the pot, Herzl emphasized the anti-socialist nature of Zionism: Jewish revolutionaries would jump on the Zionist bandwagon, making it easier for the Kaiser to deal with the troublesome socialist question at home.[29] Initially Wilhelm was hard put to restrain his enthusiasm—there was nothing he would have liked more than to get rid of the Jews. But difficulties with other powers, the bad impression the Jews of Jerusalem made on him during his trip to Palestine in 1898, and the influence of his chancellor, Count von Buelow, who was hostile to Herzl's scheme, gradually cooled Wilhelm's ardor for the Zionist solution to the Jewish and socialist questions.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was next on Herzl's checklist of potential sponsors. In exchange for the government's support of his Jewish state, he was prepared to solve its explosive nationality question. He then made contact with the Russian tsar at the Peace Conference held in The Hague in 1899, and four years later obtained an interview with the Russian Minister of Interior, Plehve. Herzl had no trouble in winning over the instigator of the bloody Kishineff pogrom of 1903; Plehve promised Zionism "moral and material support on the day certain practical measures it takes to reduce the Jewish population in Russia."[30]

The "practical measures" of which Plehve spoke being slow in forthcoming, Herzl's frustration began to mount. With every newspaper account detailing the atrocities of this or that pogrom, the need for a Jewish state came shimmering through the fine print. Anywhere. In short order Herzl approached Portugal, Belgium and Italy—in vain.

There remained one country Herzl had singled out from the very beginning as the most likely beneficiary of the partition of Turkey and potential ally of Zionism. That country was England. In plans he laid before the British government in 1896 and 1897 (at the very moment he was negotiating with the Sultan for entirely different deals), Herzl extolled the virtues of partition. British access to her Indian possessions would be immensely facilitated if England took charge of Egypt and Syria, including Palestine. England could then hand Palestine to the Jews, and they, in turn, would safeguard the shortcut to India.[31]



PL demonstrates for Arab-Israeli workers unity.

At the time Britain was of course very much interested in the partition of Turkey but hardly at all in Herzl's Jewish utopia in the Middle East. The undisguised reluctance of the British to support Jewish colonization of Palestine was due in no small measure to the fierce opposition of Nathaniel Mayer, Lord Rothschild. Lord Rothschild, the first Jew to sit in the House of Lords, and a member of the Board of Directors of the world's largest bank, the Bank of England, repeatedly denied Herzl the wherewithal with which to launch his project. By rejecting Herzl's plea for money, Nathaniel Mayer merely seconded the example of his French counterpart, Baron Edmond de Rothschild, whose hobby consisted of planting his own small Jewish colonies in the area coveted by Herzl, a pastime which he considered on a par with his brother Alphonse's interest in goldsmith relics from the Renaissance and his cousin Willy's collection of rare books.[32]

And so, the family which Herzl considered "the most effective force our people have possessed since the dispersion,[33] turned a deaf ear to all his proposals. Yet is was Nathaniel Rothschild who in 1904 approached Herzl with the idea of a Jewish homeland in Uganda, Africa. A charter

r ganda might be acceptable to the British ...rnment, Rothschild informed him, but none could be expected for the Sinai peninsula, Egypt... Palestine, or Cyprus, the territories Herzl had requested two years before from the powerful C...nial Minister, Joseph Chamberlain. At that ti...e, after having had to show Chamberlain the o...the-map location of the Sinai Peninsula, Herzl ha...old him: "England can give us that. In return we ...romise an increase in her power and the grat...tude of ten million Jews."[34] Chamberlain ass...red Herzl of his support but did not commit himself to Palestine. Later, after a trip to Africa, he mentioned the possibility of Uganda to Rothschild, who in turn relayed it to Herzl. "I thought to myself that's just the country for Dr. Herzl,"[35] Chamberlain told the Zionist leader after Rothschild had already broached the subject to him ...mpressed by the monomaniac mood of his fol...ws, Herzl responded boldly: the Jews must ...a country "near Palestine. Later we can also ... Uganda."[36]

...agmatic consideration however—immediate ...f for hundreds of thousands of Jews from e...ern Europe—led Herzl to espouse Uganda as a p...ible Jewish homeland, despite the certain c...ition this action was bound to create within ...ionist ranks. Max Nordau, for example, ...ngly accepted the Uganda Plan as an interim ...n, a **Nachtasyl** (night shelter), and ration... his support on therapeutic grounds: "... (the Jews) will find there the means for p...al training, to educate themselves and the w...d to the idea that the Jews are a people cap... willing and ready to take upon ourselves all th... tasks which characterize an honorable and in...pendent people."[37]

... Uganda Plan was buried with Herzl, in 1904. He ...ied embittered and disillusioned, as befitted a t...eling salesman selling a lie.

H...l based the demand for a Jewish state on the t...eory that the Jews represented an unassimil...ble and indestructible ferment in their countries of residence. Nothing could be further from the truth. All available indicators point to the ...xact opposite conclusion. In all western Eur...ean countries Jews were rapidly assimilating ... their non-Jewish environment, primarily thro...gh intermarriage.[38]

By 1907 the number of mixed marriages in Prussia totaled more than one-quarter of the purely Jewish marriages contracted that year. In Berlin the percentage in 1905 was a staggering 44.5%.[39] Similar trends were at work in all other western European countries, including Herzl's ...stria.[40] So alarming was this trend—not to ...ak of the growing indifference to religion of ... Jews and Christians in an increasingly urbanized and secularized environment—that a German Zionist physician, Felix A. Theilhaber, in 1911 warned that if nothing were done to stem this tide, "the end (would) soon be here."[41] Less than two decades later the greatest Zionist authority on the condition of world Jewry, the sociologist Arthur Ruppin, citing verse and chapter of this process of self-liquidation—aging communities, declining birth rates, intermarriage and decreasing percentages of total populations[42]—used Jews to embrace the ideal of Zionism without which a "large part of Jewry would be lost."[43] In other words, Ruppin and Theilhaber advocated the Zionist solution not because Jews could not be assimilated but because they were assimilating too well.

Such falsifications of the historical record did not trouble the man who compared himself to Moses leading the Jews out of the wilderness, a messiah-king chosen to perform great deeds for his people: "What a gift of God to the Jews!" he exuded.[44] The truth is that Theodor Herzl was a fop with delusions of grandeur and a sick desire to hobnob with the aristocracy. When he was invited in 1898 to meet with the German ambassador in Vienna, Count Philip zu Eulenburg, he devoted extreme care to his appearance. "For the first time in his life," writes Alex Bein, his doting biographer, "Herzl found himself in more intimate contact with those circles of the old aristocracy concerning which he had entertained such high dreams in his youth . . . He felt himself observed on every side . . . and he laid great weight on the question of clothing; everything had to be immaculate and discreet, unobtrusively elegant, breathing a natural superiority, as though he had always led this kind of life . . . ."[45] His host, however, had not found it necessary to change his hunting outfit. At the first Zionist Congress all delegates were instructed to wear a frock coat and a white tie; when Max Nordau showed up in an ordinary suit Herzl reprimanded him severely and sent him back to his hotel room to change.

There is a symbolic link between the frock-coat-white-tie and the ideology of Zionism: with them Zionism gave notice that it was placing its bets on the reactionary horses of history. With western Europe entering the era of monopoly capitalism and its correlate, imperialism, and its working class engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the forces of oppression, Herzl knew that his arguments struck a responsive chord. His mini-imperialism made sense in an era when the breakneck race for colonies among all major capitalist countries was rapidly reaching the saturation point; it did not at all seem such a bad idea to find a spot on the perimeter of imperialism for such a highly productive people as the Jews. They conceivably could, as Herzl pointed out again and again, play a useful role in the "expansion" of Europe, a role which, given their tenuous position in the countries where they presently lived, would otherwise be denied to them.

In this context, a brief look at Herzl's utopian novel, **Altneuland** (Old-New Land), which he wrote in 1902, is enlightening. The setting is Palestine after a generation or so of Jewish control. It was a rather large Palestine that Herzl had in mind, stretching as far north as Syria today and spanning both sides of the Jordan River. It was not just a new state but a New Society, with Arabs

and Jews living together in peace. The advent of the Jews had turned out to be a blessing for the Arabs because they had been able to sell their pitiful lands for good money and had found productive and well-paid work in such activities as swamp draining for which they were physically better suited than the Jews. The latter were teaching the native population how to organize themselves economically, and the cleanliness of the Jewish villages had inspired the Arabs to clean up their own filthy communities. The Jews also introduced new methods of production and agriculture. Everyone benefited. (In practice the Jewish National Fund, which was established at the Fifth Zionist Congress in 1901 for the purpose of purchasing land in Palestine, bought the land from the rich—and often absentee—landlord class, the **effendi**, resulting in the creation of a landless Arab peasantry.)

If Herzl's pro-imperialist and racist arguments appealed to the European empire-builders, they also held out a certain charm for those Jewish circles that feared both the rise of anti-semitism and socialism.

> The Jewish bourgeois and petty bourgeois strata which embraced Zionism were incomparably weaker than the European ruling classes and felt threatened by anti-semitism, but they were just as fearful of socialist revolution. They were incapable of—and unwilling to—take up the national struggle claiming a section of Europe where the Jews lived, a struggle against their real oppressors that would have had revolutionary implications. Instead, a much more likely prospect was to find an empty, underdeveloped area... upon which to settle those with nationalist aspirations.[46]

At a time when Europe talked of its **mission civilisatrice**; when boy scouts, Olympic Games, the Salvation Army, colonial expeditions and gunboats formed part of the livery of imperialism and the stock-in-trade of the "white man's burden," it was perfectly normal to see the wealthier, emancipated Jews of western Europe embracing ideas that permeated bourgeois society at large. Just as the European ruling class found safety valves for its overheated social system in "empty" territories overseas, so the Jews flirted with similar notions for **their** poor and oppressed. The very concept behind Herzl's Jewish Company, with its provision for obtaining a charter from a friendly big power, dated back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when royalty bankrolled expeditions for the exploitation of the New World and the settlement there of "surplus" populations. One of the richest Jews of the nineteenth century, Baron Edmond de Rothschild, perceptively defined a Zionist as "an American Jew who pays an English Jew money to send a Polish Jew to Palestine."[47]

When Herzl wrote **The Jewish State** he was convinced that he had found the answer to the Jewish question. Few Jews, however, fell for his harebrained schemes. The overwhelming majority of the downtrodden Jewish masses from eastern Europe opted for the United States or made their way to western European countries where they took up residence amid Jewish populations that, on the whole, showed little interest or were openly hostile to Herzl's plans for them. As a result, the movement remained small, confined largely to youths, academicians and an assortment of petty bourgeois elements (few of which ever took the actual step of making their home in Palestine) led by a small number of skilled paid propagandists.

Of a total world population of 13,000,000 Jews in 1914, only 1% called itself Zionist.[48] "Old prisoners do not willingly leave their cell," Herzl had predicted in **The Jewish State.** Toward the end of his life he was convinced that Jews were incapable of "receiving a call to freedom."[49] Rich Jews saw him as a troublemaker. Baron Moritz de Hirsch, multimillionaire founder of the Jewish Colonization Association, told Herzl that "All our misfortunes come from the fact that the Jews aim too high. We have too many intellectuals. My aim is to discourage pushfulness among the Jews. They mustn't make such progress. All the hatred of us comes from this."[50]

Western Europe's rabbinate proved equally

Communist Israeli Dan Vered:
framed and jailed for being a "spy."

obstinate: almost to a man the rabbis denounced Herzl's idea of a national home for the Jews. The rabbis of Munich," for instance, spearheaded a successful drive against having the first Zionist congress meet in their city.

And there was opposition to Herzl within the Zionist movement itself. Achad Haam, a cultural Zionist, called him a mountebank and berated his utopian novel for its stock of western concepts. "The salvation of Israel will come through

prophets, not through diplomats," he lectured Herzl.[51]

Haam also pointed out something that others had conveniently overlooked. Palestine was not an empty territory. While Herzl was organizing Zionist congresses, jumping in and out of his aristocratic plumage, badgering the Rothschilds for money, "the Jewish population in Palestine numbered less than 10% of the Arab population, **and had nothing to do with the Zionist movement.**"[52] (Emphasis added.)

Achad Haam's criticism of Herzl did not stand alone. Additional opposition came from Zionists with "socialist" tendencies. Herzl felt that radical socialism inside Zionism would hurt the cause, especially since the success of his movement depended almost exclusively on the cooperation of rabid anti-semites and reactionary ruling class elements. The **Bund**—the General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia—the Jewish socialist and anti-Zionist (but chauvinist) organization founded in 1897 and affiliated for some time with the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, infuriated Herzl when it took to the streets to protest his audience with the anti-working class, virulent anti-semite Plehve.[53]

Clearly, Zionism was going nowhere fast. Indeed, had it not been for British designs on the Middle East, Zionist might not have survived its first decade. Even so, Britain waited until well into the First World War before committing itself to the coveted charter—the Balfour Declaration of late 1917—promising Palestine to the Jews, and then only because it was competing with Germany, which had made a somewhat similar offer, for the support of world Jewry a minority of whom formed an important segment of the international financial establishment.

The Balfour Declaration did not result in a mass exodus of Jews from their countries of origin. Only when Hitler came to power did a sizeable portion of western Europe's Jewry—Germans—go to Palestine, primarily because almost all other countries quickly closed their doors to Jews. Interestingly, Zionists conveniently forget that the Soviet Union, under Joseph Stalin, threw open its borders to the fleeing Jews. It was only later that the Zionists—and the West—during the early Cold War years came up with charges of "anti-semitism" against Stalin. Certainly, without the Hitler holocaust there would be no Israel today. (It was never suggested to make Germany give up land for a Jewish state; it seemed fairer somehow to make Arabs pay for Nazi crimes.)

Ironically, though, far from creating an independent Jewish state, a state in which Jews would finally be free, there are today few states on earth less independent, few peoples less free, than the state and people of Israel. And far from solving the "Jewish question," which essentially was nothing more than a capitalist question, Herzl created a new one. To dismiss as aberations, or to justify Israel's current imperialist and oppressive policies on grounds that they constitute a "natural" defensive reaction to past and present wrongs inflicted on the Jewish people (such emotional blackmail is a constant of Israeli propaganda), is to disregard completely those aspects of Zionism which make it an inherently reactionary movement. Opportunism, the courting of anti-semites and reactionaries of all stripes, racism, the pessimistic appraisal of human nature, the glorification of blood and soil, Social Darwinism, and the reliance on the "goodwill" of imperialist powers, preferably the strongest one at any given time, are ingrained features of the petty bourgeois nationalism embodied in the Zionist movement.

These are the "ideals" Herzl bequeathed to the Jewish people; these are the "ideals" which today commit the Israeli leadership to suppression at home and expansionist war abroad. And thus it is no accident that Israel finds its strongest allies in countries like South Africa and the U.S., and in people like Gregorio Almirante, the leader of Italy's powerful neo-fascist movement. Israel's self-righteousness, its scorn for international law, its belief in racial superiority, the "chosen people" myth, have a familiar ring to them, echoes of a not-too-distant past—the Volk, **Lebensraum** and cannons for butter.

Zionism did not solve the "Jewish question"—and it never will. The only real solution was formulated long ago. In 1844 Karl Marx wrote: "The political emancipation of the Jew, of the Christian, of the religious man in general, means the emancipation of the state from Judaism, from Christianity, from religion generally .... The question of the relation of political emancipation (is) the question of the relation of political emancipation to human emancipation."[54]

And "human emancipation," Marx pointed out, could only be brought about through the destruction of capitalism.

Israeli workers and youth:
No longer along for the ride.

FOOTNOTES

1 Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil,* New York: 1970 (1963), p. 46.

2 Arendt, p. 42.

3 Hans Guenther Adler, *Theresienstadt 1941-45, Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft. Geschichte. Soziologie. Psychologie,* Tuebingen: 1960 (1955), p. 253.

4 Arendt, p. 60-62.

5 *Juedische Rundschau,* May 7, 1935, Nr. 37. This was the offical organ of the Zionist Federation of Germany, the German branch of the World Zionist Organization.

6 Alexander Bein, *Theodor Herzl. A Biography.* Trans. Maurice Samuel, New York: 1970 (1941), p. 10.

7 Bein, p. 48.

8 Bein, p. 44.

9 Bein, p. 65.

10 Bein, p. 35.

11 Bein, p. 89.

12 Bein, p. 311.

13 *Juedische Rundschau,* May 1, 1934, Nr. 35.

14 Bein, p. 89.

15 Bein, p. 94.

16 Bein, p. 89.

17 Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State. An Attempt at a Solution of the Jewish Question,* trans. Sylvie d'Avignon, London: 1967 (1896), p. 15.

18 Herzl, p. 15.

19 Herzl, p. 76.

20 Bein, p. 128.

21 Herzl, p. 79. Judas Maccabee (possibly Hebrew for Hammer) received his name for this epithet for his exploits against the Syro-Greek forces in defense of the Jewish faith. He was the hero of a Jewish revolt against attempts to suppress their religion. Chanukah commemmorates his exploits and the rededication of the Temple in 165 B.C.

22 Herzl, p. 26.

23 Herzl, p. 23.

24 Bein, p. 244.

25 Herzl, p. 78.

26 Herzl, p. 30.

27 Herzl, p. 30.

28 Bein, p. 129.

29 Bein, p. 279.

30 Quoted from Maxime Rodinson, *Israel. A Colonial Settler State?* trans. David Thorstad, New York p. 102.

31 Bein, p. 263.

32 For the Rothschilds' interest in Zionism, see eric Morton, *The Rothschilds. A Family Portrai* York: 1962, pp. 197-209. It should be pointed c Nathanial Rothschild had a weakness for Herzl ar ported his family after the latter's death in 1904. 1931, Baron Edmond de Rothschild, "the fond fa tyrant" who often threatened out of pique to er minute colonies that existed in Palestine in the mid- ("These are *my* colonies, and I shall do with th like!"), came to the rescue of Zionism with a ch 40,000 British Pounds, replenishing the empty coffers.

33 Morton, p. 204.

34 Bein, p. 388.

35 Bein, p. 480.

36 Bein, p. 435.

37 Bein, p. 436.

38 Bein, p. 456.

39 Karl Kautsky, *Are the Jews a Race?* Westpor necticut: 1972 (1914), pp. 153, 154.

40 See, Kautsky, pp. 151-156.

41 Felix A. Theilhaber. *Der Untergang der de Juden. Eine volkswirtschaftliche Studie,* Muenchen p. 116.

42 Arthur Ruppin, *Soziologie der Juden,* Berlin: vols., vol. 1, p. 14; vol. 2, p. 237.

43 Ruppin, vol. 2, p. 327.

44 Bein, p. 265, 13-14. Herzl also wrote a biblical called *Moses.*

45 Bein, p. 284.

46 Foreword by Peter Buch to Rodinson, p. 12.

47 Morton, p. 205.

48 Alan Taylor, *Prelude to Israel. An Analysis of Diplomacy, 1897-1947,* New York: 1959, p. 8.

49 Bein, p. 148.

50 Bein, p. 128.

51 Bein, p. 259.

52 Arie Bober, ed., *The Other Israel. The Radic Against Zionism,* New York: 1972, p. 55.

53 Bein, p. 450.

54 Karl Marx, *On the Jewish Question,* trans. H.J ning, New York: 1968 (1926), pp. 51-52.

Many happy returns: Translation of Israeli New Year's card: A Year of Peace and Tran ty

# Doctors and the U.S. Trade Union Movement- A Communist Perspective

## Introduction

The trade union occupies a place of central importance in the life of the industrial worker. Earning a living is still an exhausting and bitter experience for most Americans. Life on the job is an endless battle—fighting for better pay, decent working conditions, upgrading, shorter hours, or just relief from harassment by the boss.

The union gives the worker strength to win those battles. Other mass organizations may be more visible to the public, but the loyalty of their members is built on weaker ties. Religion has increasingly little to do with every-day life; the large political parties are inaccessible to ordinary workers; mass movements based on a single issue, like opposition to the war in Vietnam or the civil rights movement, are limited in time and scope by their original purpose.

Until the last few years there would have been nothing to say about doctors and trade unions. Financial independence and the middle class background of doctors sheltered them from the experience of organizing to fight the boss. If not openly hostile to unions, most physicians were satisfied with the attitude that "unions may have been a good thing back in the old days, but they have gone too far." They huddled together in the isolation of their "professional associations," venturing out only to do battle with a series of insignificant federal reforms.

The strategy was simplistic in the extreme—contributions to the county medical society would buy the member all the political power he could ever need. For whatever reasons, the medical lobby is no longer capable of protecting the interests of practicing physicians and a frantic search for political alternatives is under way. Doctors suddenly represent a huge market of unorganized workers, and offers to sell them a tough, aggressive union have come from such diverse quarters as the Teamsters and rebellious sections of the AMA.

**Recognizing the need for collective bargaining and organized self-control over production is a profound political development for the medical profession. A declaration of intent, however, is just the first step. Doctors who are now eager to unionize can no longer afford the blind ignorance and disdain which has characterized their relationship with the labor movement for so many years. Workers have learned a**

* Also available as pamphlet from PLP for 25¢.

**great deal in the last hundred years of struggle and trade unions can always wield more power than the strongest possible organization of doctors. More to the point, the new-born doctors' unions will inevitably grow up in the likeness of the established labor movement, and bear the imprint of the broader social conflicts that lie ahead in the next few years.**

**THE DISCUSSION PRESENTED HERE IS AN** attempt to place the relationship between doctors and unionized workers in an historical perspective. The deepening crisis in the U.S. economy make that relationship more intense every day, and also make it increasingly clear that the health of the economy, not the recommendations of professional societies, will determine the quality of medical care and the working conditions of health professionals. The rumblings of economic collapse can be heard in many big cities; hospitals are closing left and right. Employment, salaries and education for health workers are being threatened on every level. The appearance of a union movement is simply one sign of the growing recognition among doctors that they, too, are part of a greater social whole.

The United States is entering an era of decline. Unemployment is the highest it has been since the 1930's, and this time it is tied to continued inflation. The government itself forecasts a permanent recession level of 6 per cent joblessness into the 1980's. Many industries are engaged in efforts of serious entrenchment and the colonial domination of several foreign countries, notably in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, have been shaken. Another depression, in the face of increasingly sharp competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, will shake this country to its foundations. Another depression will be much more than an attack on the wealth and privilege of physicians. Joining the labor movement will not be enough to shelter doctors from a battle which threatens to disrupt society on such a broad scale. Nor is it likely that the trade union movement as a whole will even be able to contain that struggle.

**There are only two historical remedies for an industrial society that fails: war and fascism or socialist revolution. Either revolutionary workers and a socialist movement within the trade unions will turn the fight against unemployment and a falling standard of living into an open struggle to overthrow a dying political system, or another series of wars will be necessary to rank the next generation of world powers. The character of the unions which doctors build will determine in large measure the side they choose. The Progressive Labor Party is committed to the fight for socialism and believes that doctors can play a significant role in that struggle.**

**THE MOST IMPORTANT STEP FOR HEALTH** professionals who agree that the fight for socialism is the fight for survival would be to join our Party and help those doctors and nurses who are already members build a strong communist movement in the health field.

# The Trade Union: Who Needs It?

A union is not an abstract, holy form of social organization, handed down by generations from the mist-enshrouded past. Everyone has to work to live. Most of us in industrial society are not self-sufficient and must depend on the prevailing market for our employment. We have skills and labor power which we agree to make available for a specified period of time. The employer in turn has the tools we need to produce something of value, and offers us a wage for the use of our time and labor.

The system of wage labor, however, created certain inevitable conflicts. An employer will always be forced to pay his workers less than the value of what they produce, or else he would have no profit left for himself. Likewise, the relative proportions of salaries and profit will constantly be a matter of disagreement between the worker and his boss. When a dispute arises, it becomes clear that the employer enjoys the advantage. Any individual worker can easily be replaced; in order to feed himself, however, he must eventually find employment. He will be forced to accept the conditions of some employer. Most important of all, the employers as a group exercise control over the power vested in the government—law-making bodies, courts, regulatory agencies, police, etc.—and never hesitate to use it to their own advantage.

In this setting working people form collective organizations to protect themselves. The speed of the process may be altered by subjective or ideological forces, but the direction and general tendency remains the same. Interns and residents in Montreal, Washington, D.C., Vancouver, Los Angeles and New York City have been on strike; the faculty at Downstate Medical Center in Brooklyn, New York complain bitterly about their "sweet-heart contract"; doctors in France took part in the general strike of 1968; hospital-based specialists in England engaged in a slow-down in the winter of '74-'75. In each instance the doctors were represented by a collective bargaining unit. Circumstances compelled them.

**Organizing a union is not a moral issue, or a political struggle between the left and the right. It is a question of practicality and self-interest. Large segments of the medical profession are being forced to address that**

**:stion with new seriousness. The conditions of tors in training are particularly well-suited to onization; they are collectively employed on a basis he sale of their labor time, and have significant evances against their employer. As more practicing sicians are employed by large institutions, or paid m a single source, the basis for unionization is engthened among them as well.**

**JNIONIZATION, HOWEVER, IS HARDLY A** nacea for the problems of the medical profession. unwillingness to engage in serious criticism of sting unions, and to launch a protracted struggle ainst the corrupt bureaucracy currently in power y even be a more serious fault than the urge to urn to feudal guilds. The union movement is a eping giant. When aroused, it is capable of roving the quality of life for millions of working ple. Trusting our fate to the AFL-CIO cannot be en lightly; our blessed savior may well turn out to a tyrant instead. Only a thorough, independent alysis and a commitment to unmistakable goals and orities will provide doctors with the strength essary to protect their own best interests.

Of the political questions facing doctors on the eve of ir entry into the U.S. trade union movement, two are rticularly pressing:

1) What is the state of affairs in the established on movement as we find it? What are its strengths, weaknesses, and the special problems it presents doctors?

2) How should doctors organize a union? What uld its organizational and political principles be?

# The Union Movement Today

American trade unions are not very healthy. mping out the militant spirit of the labor movement s been the main program of the pro-management, silized bureaucracy which now rules all the big ions. The percentage of unionized workers in the ited States is lower than in any other industrialized untry. Yet we still see a great unwillingness on the rt of the union officialdom to organize the organized segments of the economy, including spital workers. We are treated to a ludicrous litical conservatism which includes AFL-CIO pport for Nixon and the war in Southeast Asia. ions, like those in the needle trades, which owe their ry existence to the militancy and courage of migrant workers, have adopted the racist, self-eating policy that "illegal aliens" are the "cause" unemployment and low wages, not the gluttony of rporate profit.

In the last few years, unionized workers have started to pay a heavy price for allowing the hacks to steal their organizations. In the face of large-scale unemployment and a precipitous fall in real wages, the impotence of one union after another has become painfully obvious. Except for empty rhetoric and sham

STRIKING PHYSICIANS ON PICKET LINE

demonstrations, there has been no attempt on the part of the official labor movement to fight back against the recent attacks on the living conditions of workers. Meany's '75 Labor Day speech ignored unemployment, inflation and the collapse of social services; instead he urged us all to support "our" government in its time of trouble and prepare for the coming war with the Soviet Union. Three main policies have led to this betrayal of the cause of working people: the destruction of union democracy, anti-communism and racism.

The decay of American unions is manifested in many ways, but none more clearly than the top-down, straight-jacketed hierarchies of the corrupted unions. Gangsterism is frequently required as a means of control. Unions with a militant past have become little more than employment agencies for management, renting out their members like day labor, accumulating huge investments and paying handsome salaries to their officials, but refusing to fight for workers on the job.

Until last year the garment workers union had not called a strike for over a decade, but had been able to acquire enormous apartment complexes and bank accounts. The garment industry is the largest industry in the New York City area and because of the

capitulationist policies of its union, New York has the lowest per capita wages of any big city in the country.

Over 250,000 auto workers have been laid off in the last year; the official UAW position has been, "there is nothing we can do." Forced over-time, destroying labor's claim to the 40-hour week, has become universal in the auto industry. The number one demand of the rank and file has been shorter hours, which would put thousands back to work, cut down on accidents and give union members the time off they deserve. Meanwhile the UAW sits on its thumbs, the president issues condolences from his home in Grosse Point, and General Motors claims almost a billion dollars in profit for '74.

**In effect, nearly all unions are no longer controlled by their members. The same slate of bureaucrats win elections year after year; one sellout and wage cut after another is negotiated, arbitrated or otherwise forced on the members. Workers become almost as cynical about their union as they are about electoral politics. The garment workers in New York are predominantly black and Latin, and they rarely share in the leadership. A brief scandal flared up in the UAW when an official in St. Louis pulled a pistol and shot at a militant rank-and-file member who had been organizing over grievances on the job.**

**THE WILDCAT STRIKE OF 100,000 COAL** miners in September, '75 was essentially a strike for recognition, not from the company but from the United Mine Workers bureaucracy. Harry Van Arsdale, head of the New York City Central Labor Council, has the following advice for workers trying to cope with double digit inflation and the highest unemployment since the '40's: "Cooperate, don't strike, and tighten your belts to help us get through the coming period." This is not what the workers are asking for. Democracy is all but a forgotten principle. Not only is union leadership pro-management in its outlook, unions are themselves big business.

Trade unions have a further handicap. One of major outcomes of the "cold war" was the expulsion of communists and militants of all sorts from the trade union movement. No matter what one might think of socialism as a political system, the left in the trade union movement has historically been the most active and the most militant force. A few of the best known examples are the textile strike in Lawrence, Mass., 1912, led by the IWW, the packinghouse strikes in Chicago, 1918, the first great steel strike, 1918-1919, the New York fur union under Ben Gold in the mid 1920's, the organization of the UAW and industrial unionism with the CIO in the 1930's led by the Communist Party. The fight for the eight-hour day, unemployment benefits, free public schools and other social campaigns were led by communists and the left-wing of the trade union movement.

**It is not hard to see how the Marxist analysis of society, which divides the world into two great camps—the oppressor and the oppressed—would lead a trade unionist to struggle harder against a system which represents the interests of his employer at every turn. The opponent has already been clearly defined in the context of ordinary labor-management disputes.**

**THE CONSERVATIVE TRADE UNIONIST, ON** the other hand, is willing to accept the limitations imposed on his struggle, whether they are no-strike laws, court injunctions, unsympathetic coverage by the press or police attacks. The leftist does not view such intervention as "neutral" (have you ever seen the police take a swing at the boss?). For him the apparatus of the state is used for one purpose; to contain his struggle, to make it "illegal" for him to do what is necessary to win, or, that failing, to prevent him by force from carrying the dispute to its conclusion. Despite our fond school-boy illusions about law and American justice, **the significant achievements of the labor movement have been won by force and illegality.**

The absence of trade unionists willing to carry out such a program for the last twenty years has been a critical weakness in the labor movement. But the left-wing program for trade unions goes well beyond disregarding the management-dominated judicial and legal systems; the real heart of the left wing program is to take the offensive—militant mass action. (More on that later.)

It should be obvious that solidarity is one of the inviolable tenets of good trade unions, as basic as brushing your teeth. Unions are organized for one purpose: to unite workers in their fight against the boss. Management, being equally aware that organization is the only instrument workers have to fight with, has always tried to disrupt this united front. One of their most powerful tools in preserving control, and thereby their own profits, has been racism.

Despite a reputation of being a "melting pot," racism in the United States goes back to the founding days of this country. One need only think of the extermination of the Native Americans; the development of the largest slave economy in the world, the huge anti-Irish riots in Philadelphia and other large cities in the 19th century, the use of Chinese "coolie" labor to build the western railroads, the internment of the Japanese in concentration camps during the Second World War, and, of course, the on-going discrimination against black, Spanish-speaking and other minority groups today.

**In recent months the attack on "illegal aliens" has become an important excuse for unemployment. "Aliens" are said to be ruining not only our job market but our hospitals, schools, housing and neighborhoods—in fact, the whole society. Labor**

**unions, unfortunately, have contributed to this anti-immigrant racism. Coal unions in Colorado passed resolutions against further immigration of workers from China in the 1800's, although an Oriental worker has never been seen in their counties. In the early part of this century AFL craft unions steadfastly refused to organize black workers. Blatant discrimination persists today, particularly in the construction trades.**

**ALL THESE PRACTICES STRENGTHEN THE** hand of the employer and make union-busting immeasurably easier. Wage-scales for all workers are lowered by a large reserve of un-unionized minority workers. Unity within a union is also difficult to preserve when racism is present. Unions in Boston face greater difficulties because of the aggressive racist campaign generated around busing in that city. An integrated meat-packers' local in South Boston can no longer hold meeetings there because of attacks by racist gangs. Medicine has likewise suffered from a "dual unionism" of sorts built up by the exclusion of minorities from the AMA (see PLP pamphlet, **Racism Ruins Medicine**).

On the other hand, racism can be, and often has been, most effectively fought through unions. The fierce strikes in the lumber mills of the South in 1911 were fought by black and white together, despite the fact that some of the white workers had been members of the KKK at one time. The United Mine Workers and the Southern Tenant Farmers Unions saw great black/white unity during the 1930's. The militance which black workers offer as the most oppressed segment of the population often provides a great source of strength for a union. It is no accident that the house staff at Howard University's hospital (Freedman's Hospital) engaged in the first house staff strike in this country; they are all black or foreign. It seems to be a truth of human psychology that those hit the hardest fight back the hardest.

**Trade union democracy, anti-communism, racism and the ability of a union to fight for the self-interest of its members—what do these issues have to do with each other? Everything, and with them lies the tale of woe of American unions. By consistently applying a policy of capitulation, autocracy and anti-communism, union leadership has lost not only its willingness but its ability to resist the attacks of management. They have gone over to the enemy.**

**THE LIFE AND DEATH QUESTION FOR A** union is the involvement of its members. It will remain strong only as long as the rank and file have control over their own fate. To do that the members must have

You're racist, lazy, chauvinist, anti-communist, nasty and pushy, but I'm sorry--there are no openings for foremen right now.

San Francisco hospital workers strike.

the instruments of change in their own hands, and know how to use them. The greatest dis-service the current union bureaucracy has done U.S. workers is not to rob them year after year of their dues, although that is a crime in itself, but to leave them exposed, unarmed and defenseless at a time of vigorous management attack.

There is nothing magical about the disintegration of an instrument of social organization like a union; a fundamental shift in power has occurred. The issue is not so simple as a mere take-over by a ruthless minority; the basic function of the organization has been altered. Unions are a source of employment and personal glorification for the bureaucracy, not an instrument of struggle for workers. The leadership alone, no matter how militant and enlightened, cannot win unless the members are able to use the apparatus of the union. Rank-and-file democracy means much more than what we saw in the coal miners' strike—the right to vote on a contract. It means power in the hands of the workers and a leadership that serves the members, not the other way around. **The absence of rank-and-file control, plus an anti-communist, anti-militant policy on the part of the leadership, has delivered the unions tied and gagged into the hands of their enemy.**

The problems outlined above are by no means new. The early leadership of the AFL in the 19th Century was, if anything, worse than Meany and his crew, while the anti-slavery movement at the time of the Civil War was attacked as "communist inspired." The history of working-class movements in the United States is infinitely more interesting than the insipid cliches of high school American history. Just as the accumulated knowledge of medical science is utilized to take care of patients, we should learn what workers have to teach us about organization and struggle. **American Trade Unionism** and **Labor's Untold Story** (see Bibliography) are two exciting and richly detailed accounts of this story. We cannot ignore the lessons offered by the living experience of millions of working Americans.

# The Organizational Form

At this juncture in the history of American medicine, the Physicians National Housestaff Association (PNHA) appears most likely to fill the environmental slot created for a progressive doctors' union. Following the example of the Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR) in New York City, which held the first large-scale doctors' strike over the issues of shorter hours and better hospital staffing in March of '75, the PNHA is planning a constitutional convention this fall to form a national trade union for physicians. Membership would be restricted to interns and residents ("housestaff") at this point.

Communists in the Progressive Labor Party and other left-leaning physicians have been active in the PNHA and CIR for a number of years, helping them grow, developing an effective, working-class program and making the fight for socialism a mass issue. The debate over the character of a national doctors' union takes on special significance because of these developments.

The PNHA grew out of a combination of the activism of the '60's and the immediate needs of young doctors who are still in their period of training, an experience which amounts to little more than indentured slavery. A series of national "conferences" gradually moved away from the gross opportunism of the AMA mentality and evolved into a serious attempt to offer physicians a real alternative to the traditional professional societies. The political direction of the PNHA is by no means settled, however, and requires further discussion.

Rank-and-file control and trade union democracy are crucial issues facing the new organization.

**A very serious danger exists in the present PNHA organizing proposal. The plan calls for a coalition of the leadership of the organizations from the larger cities and would not require the direct vote of the members. The paper affiliation created by this "unity from above" would guarantee that the organization would become more than a mechanism to launch the political careers of a few opportunist hacks. The Progressive Labor member of the current PNHA National Council and the delegates from N.Y. are forming a caucus to prevent the adoption of this suicidal plan. It would not be very difficult to steal the organization from its members if they had no role in forming it (and in many case are probably unaware of its existence).**

**One of the most striking features of the U.S. health system is the development of two classes of care. The basis of such practice in most parts of the country is racism. Medicine has always been deeply divided along the lines of racial discrimination. Through the 1930's many local AMA organizations refused to admit black doctors. Even now the number of black physicians has not risen from the 2 per cent mark. Racism remains the primary obstacle to the delivery of good health care in the United States, and a consistently destructive element in medical education. Fighting for equal services for minorities and the admission of more minority students into professional schools will be a life or death question for any progressive medical organization.**

**THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RACISM BE**comes clear when the over-all social program of a doctor's union is considered. Unions of service employees are different from industrial unions in one important way--their product is not a commodity, but, hopefully, an improved quality of life for other working people in society. Although no one can shirk from broader social responsibility, doctors obviously have a unique relationship to the fight for better health care, as do teachers for education of working-class children, and so on. In fact, the premise for wanting a strong doctors' organization is wanting leverage over the level of services provided. In the long run, that determines the integrity and quality of the doctor's life.

The rich will always be able to buy health care in this country, but poor and working people will never

N.Y. fights for medical care.

get it without a struggle, and minorities will always come last in line. Medicine in the U.S. is deeply racist, on a fundamental, **institutional basis.** Any objective measurement of health and health delivery reflects racial discrimination. The life expectancy of blacks is eight years shorter than whites, and it does not rise; it continues to fall; infant and material mortality are twice as high for non-whites; job-related injuries for non-whites are well above the average for whites.

The other aspects of racism in medicine--human experimentation, discrimination in education, employment, etc.--are compounded by a still worse racist situation whereby millions of black and Spanish-speaking people are denied the bare essentials of modern medicine, delivered without anything approaching concern and respect.

Through local unions, house staff (and particularly

minority house staff) have led the fight against racist medical care by including a large proportion of patient-care related demands in their strikes in Washington, D.C., New York City and Los Angeles. The patients they served were mainly black and Latin.

**Fighting for better patient care is really what distinguishes these new groups from the AMA, which fought against every potential improvement in health services since private insurance. When a doctor is harassed and over-worked, trying to deliver something better than sub-lethal care in a municipal hospital, it become clear to all but the most hardened enemies of patients that the systematic discrimination against minority people takes an enormous toll in social services. When hospitals for minority people are destroyed, as in New York, house staff also see that their professional life and education are threatened. The CIR has lost a number of affiliates and house staff lines because of the racist budget cuts directed against minority workers first, and the whole population thereafter.**

**THE FIRST TOPIC ON THE AGENDA FOR A** new doctors' union must be fighting for better health care, and that means first and foremost putting an end to the medieval practice of medicine that exists in hospitals serving black and Latin populations. Doctors must lead the way, not succumb to the temptation to solve our problems at the expense of the patient.

Once again the trade union movement has provided us with a brilliant negative example. The New York teachers' strike in September, '75, was settled by shortening the school day. Shanker and his crew of racist hacks would agree with the school administrators to take education away from the students—over 60 per cent of whom are black and Latin—rather than fight against layoffs. That settlement, by the way, was opposed by the largest number of rank-and-file members of any contract Shanker recommended.

In its own brief history the PNHA has already had enormous difficulty dealing successfully with racism. In Los Angeles, a strike at three affiliated hospitals became divided along racial lines when the black housestaff at Martin Luther King in Watts broke out of the negotiating arrangement to fight for a better contract. The opportunist leadership at L.A. County Hospital, frightened at the militancy of the black housestaff, joined the administration in a blatantly racist attack on their affiliate in Watts. Unless PNHA can develop a program and a commitment to deal with the special oppression of minority doctors and patients, segregated, racist organizations will inevitably develop. A progressive, segregated union is a contradiction in terms. (For further discussion, see PLP pamphlet, **Racism Ruins Medicine.**)

**Finally, of all the lessons from the old labor movement, the self-destructive character of anti-communism is the most obvious. The very worst elements of today's labor bureaucracy all came to power on the crusade of political witch-hunting and red-baiting. The terror and sterility of stifling militancy and democracy in the union movement. The present crop of gangsters in the UAW, Teamsters and other industrial unions offered their members nothing but an even more vicious form of the boss's red-baiting. We have seen all too well what happens to unions where the leadership holds power solely on the basis of anti-communist hysteria.**

**STILL, COMMUNISTS ARE BECOMING ACTIVE** in the unions again, trying to move labor to the left and restore the strength and vigor which many working-class organizations once had. Communists have held office in the CIR and PNHA over the last three years and helped spark the strike in New York City and the fight for a new orientation by the PNHA. The long-range perspective of the revolutionary movement from around the world has brought militancy and enthusiasm to organizing among doctors by broadening the struggle, linking up with other sections of the working class and demonstrating how reliance on working people, not the boss and his politicians, can change our world for the better. Communist leadership and ideas are essential ingredients of workers' organizations which can fight to win.

# The Future

The serious weaknesses of the trade union movement should not lead doctors to reject unionization as the best course to follow, but rather serve as the basis for a healthy and sincere criticism. The PNHA has developed a draft constitution for a national union and an organizing plan. Initial discussions have been held with the AFL-CIO and the possibility of an international charter for health professionals is being seriously considered. Rulings by the National Labor Relations Board may go against housestaff, declaring them "students" rather than employees, but that will be only a temporary setback. Within the next year, some organization, whether it be PNHA or an out-growth of the CIR, will hopefully be engaged in an aggressive campaign to draw together the fragments of local groupings and build up new units.

Material conditions are ripe for organizing unions among doctors. All that is lacking is bold, imaginative leadership. A commitment to trade union democracy, militant working-class politics of an anti-racist, anti-boss character, and a willingness to work hand-in-hand with other workers engaged in the same struggle should allow this organization to grow very rapidly.

# Socialist Revolution-The World Beyond

Contrary to the pious hopes of American sociology, the contradiction between labor and capital has not been resolved. Capitalism remains a system based on exploitation, where the many must sacrifice for the few. Like all capitalist societies, the United States is condemned to pursue a course of economic "boom" and depression. All indications now point to a steep decline in the industrial growth of this country and serious challenge to its world domination, particularly from the once-socialist regimes in the Soviet Union and China. A failing economy will mean ever-increasing hardships and a sacrifice for the workers of this country.

Faced with an economy which cannot satisfy the needs of the vast majority of workers and in danger of losing hegemony in the world market, the ruling class in the United States will be forced to dispense with the facade of capitalist "democracy" and use naked force to extract the greatest possible profit from the system. Based on an analysis of the material conditions of the U.S. economy today (see **PL Magazine**, "U.S. Depression Opens the Door for Revolution," Vol. 9, No. 6, April, 1975), we in the Progressive Labor Party believe that war and fascism are the only way in which the capitalist class will be able to continue to hold state power.

**But death and misery under wage slavery is not the only alternative for workers; they can seize state power for themselves and build a society which will make a decent, fulfilling way of life possible for all working people. Socialist revolution will only take place under the leadership of a revolutionary communist party, a party which grows out of the every-day struggles of workers against the system and reflects the strengths of all sections of the working class.**

**THIS PRESENTATION HAS BEEN AN AT**tempt to map out a progressive course for doctors in their struggle for economic survival and the chance to deliver good health care. The communist perspective on the historical development of society adds a further dimension to this analysis and challenges the very premise of unionism—the stability of the relationship between the worker and his boss. Society is in a constant state of change, from slavery to feudalism to capitalism. The future portends new upheavals which will dwarf the struggle of doctors for strong collective organizations. To survive, that struggle must go beyond the confines of a single profession and challenge the system at its foundation, or it will be swept away before it has even begun to win its most immediate demands.

**Doctors will be forced to choose sides. They can either tie their fate to a moribund system, which offers nothing but war and depression, or unite with the only force in society capable of bringing about fundamental social change: the collective strength of industrial workers. To join the rest of the working class in the fight for socialism, doctors will have to build progressive mass organizations within the labor movement and share in its communist leadership. Join the Progressive Labor Party and help lead that struggle!**

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**Workers Unite • Smash Racism**

# FIRE AND CLOUD

## *a story by richard wright*

*I*

Naughts a naught...

As he walked his eyes looked vacantly on the dusty road, and the words rolled without movement from his lips, each syllable floating softly up out of the depths of his body.

*"N five a figger..."*

He pulled out his pocket handkerchief and mopped his brow without lessening his pace.

*"All fer the white man..."*

He reached the top of the slope and paused, head down.

*"N none fer the nigger..."*

His shoulders shook in half-laugh and half-shudder. He finished mopping his brow and spat, as though to rid himself of some bitter thing. He thought. Thas the way its awways been! Wistfully he turned and looked back at the dim buildings of the town lying sprawled mistily on the crest of a far hill. Seems like the white folks jus erbout owns this whole worl! Looks like they done conquered *everything*. We black folks is jus los in one big white fog.... With his eyes still on the hazy buildings, he flexed his lips slowly and spoke under his breath:

He walked again and tucked his handkerchief back into his pocket. He could feel the heat of the evening over all his body, not strongly, but closely and persistently, as though he were holding his face over a tub of steaming suds. Far below him at the bottom of the valley, lay a cluster of bleak huts with window panes red-lit from dying sunlight. Those huts were as familiar to his eyes as a nest is to the eyes of a bird, for he had lived among them all his life. He knew by sight or sound every black man, woman and child living within those huddled walls. For a moment an array of soft black faces hovered before his eyes. N whut kin Ah tell em? Whut kin Ah say t em? He stopped, looked at the ground and sighed. And then he saw himself as he had stood but a few moments ago, facing the white woman who sat behind the brown, gleaming desk: her arms had been round, slender, snow-white, like cold marble; her hair had been the color of flowing gold and had glinted in the sunlight; her eyes had been wide and grey behind icily white spectacles. It seemed he could hear her saying in her dry, metallic voice: I'm sorry, Taylor. You'll just have to do the best you can. Explain it to them, make them understand that we cant do anything. Everybodys hongry, and after all, it's no harder on your people than it is on ours. Tell them they'll just have to wait....

He wagged his head and his lips broke in a slow sick smile. Whut she know erbout being hongry? Whut she know erbout it? He walked again, thinking, Here Ah is a man called by Gawd t preach n whut kin Ah do? Hongry folks lookin t me fer hep n whut kin Ah do? Ah done tried everything n cant do *nuthin!* Shucks, mabbe Hadley n Greens right? They *might* be right. Gawd knows, they *might* be right.

He lifted his head and saw the wide fields plunging before him, down the hillside. The grass was dark and green. All this! he thought. All *this* n folks hongry! Good Gawd, whuts *wrong!* He saw the road running before him, winding, vanishing, the soft yellow dust filled with the ruts of wagon wheels and tiny threads of auto tires. He threw back his head and spoke out loud:

"The good Lawds gonna clean up this ol worl some day! Hes gonna make a new Heaven n a new Earth! N Hes gonna do it in a eye-twinkle change; Hes gotta do it! Things cant go on like this ferever! Gawd knows they cant!" He pulled off his coat and slung it under his left arm. "Waal, there ain nothing t do but go back n tell em.... Tell em the white folks wont let em eat...."

The road curved, descending among the green fields that tumbled to a red sky. This was the land on which the Great God Almighty had first let him see the light of His blessed day. This was the land on which he had first taken unto himself a wife, leaving his mother and father to cleave to her. And it was on the green slopes of these struggling hills that his first-born son, Jimmy, had romped and played,

rowing to a strong, upright manhood. He wagged his head, musing: Lawd, them wuz the good ol days.... There had been plenty to eat; the blessings of God had been overflowing. He had toiled from sunup tp sundown, and in the cool of the evenings his wife, May, had taught him to read and write. Then God had spoken to him, a quiet, deep voice coming out of the black night; God had called him to preach His word, to spread it to the four corners of the earth, to save His black people. And he had obeyed God and had built a church on a rock which the very gates of Hell could not prevail against. Yes, he had been like Moses, leading his people out of the wilderness into the Promised Land. He sighed, walking and taking his coat from his left arm and tucking it under his right. Yes, things had been clear-cut then. In those days there had stretched before his eyes a straight and narrow path and he had walked in it, with the help of a Gracious God. On Sundays he had preached God's Word, and on Mondays and Tuesdays and Wednesdays and Thursdays and Fridays and Saturdays he had taken old Bess, his mule, and his plow and had broke God's ground. For a moment while walking through the dust and remembering his hopes of those early years he seemed to feel again the plow handles trembling in his calloused hands and hear the earth cracking and breaking open, black, rich and damp; it seemed he could see old Bess straining forward with the plow, swishing her tail and tossing her head and snorting now and then. Yes, there had been something in those good old days when he had walked behind his plow, between the broad green earth and a blue sweep of sunlit sky; there had been in it all a surge of will, clean, full, joyful; the earth was his and he was the earth's; they were one; and it was that joy and will and oneness in him that God had spoken to when He had called him to preach His Word, to save His black people, to lead them, to guide them, to be a shepherd to His flock. But now the whole thing was giving way, crumbling in his hands, right before his eyes. And every time he tried to think of some way out, of some way to stop it, he saw wide grey eyes behind icily white spectacles. He mopped his brow again. Mabbe Hadley n Greens right.... Lawd, Ah don know whut t do! Ef Ah fight fer things the white folk say Ahma bad nigger stirrin up trouble. N ef Ah don do nothin, we starve.... But somethings *gotta* be done! Mabbe ef we hada demonstration like Hadley n Green said, we could scare them white folks inter doin something....

He looked at the fields again, half-wistfully, half-curiously. Lawd, we could make them ol fields bloom ergin. We could make em feed us. Thas whut Gawd put em there fer. Plows could break and hoes could chop and hands could pick and arms could carry.... On and on that could happen and people could eat and feel as he had felt with the plow handles trembling in his hands, following old Bess, hearing the earth cracking and breaking because he wanted it to crack and break; because he willed it, because the earth was his. And they could sing as he had sung when he and May were first married; sing about picking cotton, fishing, hunting, about sun and rain. They could.... But whuts the usa thinkin erbout stuff like this? Its all gone now.... And he had to go and tell his congregation, the folks the Great God Almighty had called him to lead to the Promised Land—he had to tell them that the relief would give them no food.

That morning he had sent a committee of ten men and women from his congregation to see the mayor. Wondah how they come out? The mayor tol em something, sho! So fer hes been pretty wid me even if he is a white man. As his feet sank softly into the dust he saw Mayor Bolton; he saw the red chin that always had a short, black stubble of beard; he saw the cigar glowing red in front of a pink, fat face. But he needs something t scare im now, he thought. Hes been running over us too long....

He reached the bottom of the slope, turned into a cinder path, and approached the huts. N Lawd, when Ah do try t do somethin mah own folks wont stan by me, wont stick wid me. Theres old Deacon Smith a-scheemin n a-plottin, just a-watchin me lika hawk, just a-waitin fer me t tak mah eyes off the groun sos he kin trip me up, sos he kin run t the white folks n tell em Ahm doin something wrong! A black snake in the grass! A black Judas! Thas all he is! Lawd, the Devils sho busy in this world.

He was walking among the crowded huts now.

*hello reveren*

"How yuh tonight, sonny!" Let ol Deacon Smith tell it, no matter whut Ah do, Ahm wrong....

*good evenin reveren*

"Good evenin, Sistah!" Hes been a-tryin t cheat me outta mah church ever since hes been erroun here....

*how yuh tonight reveren Taylor*

"Jus fine. N how yuh tonight, Brother?" Hes awways a-whisperin berhin mah back, a-tryin t take mah congregation erway from me.... N when he ain doin that hes a-tryin his best t give me wrong advice, jus like the Devil a-tryin t tempt Jesus. But Ahm gonna march on wida hepa Gawd.... Yeah, Ah might preach a sermon erbout tha nex Sunday.

As he turned into the street leading to his home and church, he saw a tall brown-skinned boy hurrying towards him. Here comes Jimmy! Ah bet hes lookin fer me.... Lawd, Ah hope ain nothin wrong....

*II*

Pa!" said Jimmy breathlessly when he was some twenty feet away.

Taylor stopped.

"Whuts the mattah, son?"

Jimmy came close.

"The mayors at home, waitin t see yuh," he whispered.

"The *mayor*?"

"Yeah, n two mo white men. One of em is the Chiefa Police."

"They there *now*?"

"Yeah; in the parlor."

"How long they been there?"

"Bout two-three minutes, Ah reckon. N lissen, Pa... Sam wuz by jus now. He say the white folks is ridin up n down the streets in their cars warning all the black folks t stay off the streets cause theres gonna be trouble...."

"Sam say tha?"

"Thas whut he tol me. N lissen, Pa... Ahma git Sam n Pete n Bob n Jack n some mo boys together sos ef anything happens...."

Taylor gripped Jimmy's shoulders.

"Naw, son! Yuh fixin t git us *all* inter trouble now! Yuh cant do nothing like tha! Yuh gotta be careful! If them white folks just *thought* we wuz doin something like that theyd crack down on us! Wed hava riot!"

"But we cant let em ride erroun n talk big n we do nothin!"

"Lissen here, son! Yuh do whut Ah tell yuh t do!" He shook Jimmy's shoulders and his voice was husky. "Yuh go tell them boys t do *nothin* till Ah see em, yuh hear me? Yuh young fools fixin t git us *all* murdered!"

"We jus as waal git killed fightin as t git killed doing nothin," said Jimmy sullenly.

"Yuh go n do whut Ah tol yuh, *hear* me? Ah gotta go n see tha mayor...."

"Hes here t see yuh erbout tha demonstration," said Jimmy.

"How yuh know?"

"Cause thas whut everybodys sayin."

"Who yuh hear say tha?"

"Deacon Smiths spreadin the word."

Taylor winced as though struck by a blow and looked at the dust.

"Hes tellin alla deacons n the church membahs tha the mayors here t stop yuh," said Jimmy. "Hes tellin em yuhs mixed up wid the Reds."

"Deacon Smith there now, *too?*"

"Yeah; hes in the basement wida other deacons. Theys waitin t see yuh."

"How long they been there?"

"Bout hafa hour. N Hadley n Greens in the Bible Room, waitin t talk wid yuh, too . . ."

Fear gripped Taylor and he stammered:

"Ddddid the mmmmmayor ssssee em?"

"Naw, ain nobody seen em yit. Ah brought em in thu the back do and tol em t wait fer yuh. Ahm mighty scared wid them Reds waitin fer yuh in the Bible Room and that Chiefa Police waitin fer yih in the parlor. Ef ol Deacon Smith knowed tha he sho would make a lotta trouble. . . ."

"Where you ma?"

"She upstairs, sewin."

"She know whuts happenin?"

"Naw, Pa."

Taylor stood still, barely breathing.

"Whut yuh gonna do, Pa?" asked Jimmy.

"Yuh go n tell them boys not t do nothin wrong, son. Go on n tell em now! Ah got too much on mah hands now widout yuh boys stirrin up mo trouble!"

"Yessuh."

"Yuh bettah go n do it *now*!"

"Yessuh."

He watched Jimmy hurry down the street. Lawd, Ah hope tha boy don go n git inter trouble. . . .

"Yuh do whut Ah tol yuh, Jimmy!" he yelled.

"Yessuh!" Jimmy hollered back.

He saw Jimmy turn a dusty corner, and go out of sight. Hadley n Greens there in the Bible Room n the Chiefa Police is waitin in the parlor! Ah cant let them white folks see them Reds! N ef Deacon Smith tells on me they'll lynch me. . . . Ah gotta git em out of tha church widout em seein each other. . . . Good Gawd, whut a mess!

*III*

No sooner had he opened the door of his church than he heard a crescendo of voices. They back awready! Tha committees back! Aw, Ah bet the mayor followed em here. . . . He walked down the hall, turned into the church's waiting room, and saw a roomful of black faces.

"Reveren Taylor! The mayor run us out!"

"He put the police on us!"

The black brothers and sisters ran to Taylor and surrounded him.

"The mayor tol us t get out n don come back no mo!"

A thin black woman swung onto Taylor's arm, crying:

"Whut Ahm gonna do? Ah ain gotta mouthful of bread at home!"

"Sistahs n Brothers, jusa minute," said Taylor, "Firs, tell me whut the mayor said. . . ."

"He say he cant do *nothin!* N say fer us not t come back t his office no *mo!* N say ef we do hes gonna put us in jail!"

"In *jail?*" asked Taylor.

"Thas whut he said."

"N he tol us not t march, Reveren. He said ef we domonstrated hed put us *all* in jail."

"Who tol em yuh wuz gonna march?" asked Taylor.

"Ah bet it wuz tha ol Deacon Smith," said Sister Harris.

"The Bible says testify whut yuh see n speak whut yuh know," said Sister Davis to Sister Harris.

"Ah knows whut Ahm talkin erbout!" blazed Sister Harris.

"Sistahs n Brothers, les don start no fuss," said Taylor, sighing and dropping his shoulders.

"Whut they tell yuh at the relief station, Reveren Taylor?" asked Sister James.

"They say they cant do nothin," said Taylor.

The thin black woman came and knelt at Taylor's feet, her face in her hands.

"Reveren Taylor, it ain fer me Ahm astin! Its fer mah chillun! Theys hongry! It ain fer me, its fer them! Gawd, have mercy, theys hongry. . . ."

"Here, Sistahs n Brothers, split this up between yuh all. Its ever cent Ah got in this worl, so hep me Gawd!"

He laid the coins on a small table. Brother Booker divided them as far as they would go. Then they swarmed around him again.

"Reveren, whut we gonna do?"

"Cant we make the white folks do something fer us?"

"Ahm tireda bein hongry!"

"Reveren, mah babys sick n Ah cant git her no milk!"

"Lawd knows, Ahm jus erbout sick of this!"

"Whut kin we do, Reveren?"

Taylor looked at them and was ashamed of his own helplessness and theirs.

"Sistahs n Brothers, les call on the great Gawd who made us n put us in this world. . . ."

He clasped his hands in front of him, closed his eyes, and bowed his head. The room grew still and silent.

"Lawd Gawd Awmighty, Yuh made the sun n the moon n the stars n the earth n the seas n mankind n the beasts of the fields!"

*yes jesus*

"Yuh made em all, Lawd, n Yuh tol em whut t do!"

*yuh made em lawd*

"Yuhs strong n powerful n Yo will rules this worl!"

*yuh rules it lawd*

"Yuh brought the chillun of Israel outta the lan of Egypt!"

*yuh sho did*

"Yuh made the dry bones rise up outta the valley of death n live!"

*Yuh made em live lawd*

"Yuh saved the Hebrew chillun in the fiery furnace!"

*yes jesus*

"Yuh stopped the storm n Yuh made the sun stan still!"

*yuh stopped it lawd*

"Yuh knocked down the walls of Jericho n Yuh kept Jona in the belly of the whale!"

*yuh kept im lawd*

"Yuh let Yo son Jesus walk on watah n Yuh brought Im back from the dead!"

*have mercy jesus*

"Yuh made the lame walk!"

*yuh did it lawd*

"Yuh made the blin see!"

*help us now lawd*

"Yuh made the deaf hear!"

*glory t the mos high*

"Lawd. Yuhs a rock in the tima trouble n Yuhs a shelter in the tima storm!"

*he is he is*

"Lawd, Yuh said Yuhd strike down the wicked men who plagued Yo chillun!"

*glory t gawd*

"Yuh said Yuhd destroy this ol worl n create a new Heaven n a new Earth!"

*wes waitin on yuh jesus*

"Lawd, Yuh said call on Yo name n Yuhd answer!"

*yuh said it lawd n now wes callin*

"Yuh made us n put the breatha life in us!"

*yuh did lawd*

"Now look down on us, Lawd! Speak t our hearts n let us

now whut Yo will is! Speak t us like Yuh spoke t Jacob!"

*speak lawd n our souls will be clay in yo hans*

"Lawd, ack in us n well obey! Try us, Lawd, try us n watch us move t Yo will! Wes helpless at Yo feet, a-waitin fer Yo sign!"

*send it lawd*

"The white folks say we cant raise nothin on yo earth! They done put the lans of the worl in their pockets! They done fenced em off n nailed em down! Theys a-tryin t take Yo place, Lawd!"

*speak t em lawd*

"Yuh put us in this worl n said we could live in ti! Yuh said this worl wuz Yo own! Now show us the sign like Yuh showed Saul! Show us the sign n well ack! We ast this in the name of Yo son Jesus who died tha we might live! Amen!"

*amen amen*

Taylor stopped and opened his eyes. The room was quiet; he could hear the clock ticking softly above his head, and from the rear came the sound of children playing back in the church. The sisters and brothers rose from their knees and began talking in subdued tones.

"But, Reveren, whut kin we *do*?"

"The issues wid Gawd now, Sistahs n Brothers."

"Is we gonna march?"

"Is yuh goin wid us t the mayor?"

"Have faith, Sistahs n Brothers. Gawd takes care of His own."

"But Ahm hongry, Reveren...."

"Now, Sistahs n Brothers, Ah got t go. Ah got business t tend t...."

He pushed ahead of the black hands that clung to his sleeve.

"Reveren Taylor...."

The thin black woman wailed, kneeling:

"Please, Reveren, cant yuh do *somethin*...."

He pushed through the door, closed it, and stood for a moment with his eyes shut and his fingers slowly loosening on the knob, his ears filled with the sound of wailing voices.

## *IV*

How come all this gotta happen at *once*? Folks a-beggin for bread n the mayor here to see me n them Reds a-waitin in the Bible Room... Ef Deacon Smith knowed that hed ruin me sho! Ah cant let the mayor see them Reds... Now, Gawd! He looked at a door at the far end of the room, then hurried to it and opened it softly.

"May! he called in a hoarse whisper.

"Hunh?"

"C mere, quick!"

"Whutcha wan, Dan?"

"C mon in the *room*, May!"

She edged through the half-opened door and stood in front of him, wide-eyed.

"Whutcha wan, Dan?"

"Now, lissen...."

"Ain nothin wrong, is it, Dan? Ain nothin happened, is it?"

He grabbed her arm.

"Naw, n don git scared!"

"Ah ain scared!"

"Yuh cant do whut Ah wan yuh t do ef yuhs scared!"

"Ah *ain* scared, Dan!"

"Lissen..."

"Yeah?"

"The mayors here, in the parlor. N the Chiefa Police...."

"The *mayor*?"

"Yeah...."

"*Ain* nothing wrong, is it, Dan?"

"There wont be ef yuh lissen n try to do right."

"Be careful, Dan!"

"Yeah," he said, his voice low and husky. "Go in and tell them white folks Ahm sick, hear?"

She stepped back from him and shook her head.

"Gawd *ain* wid yuh when yuh lie, Dan!"

"We *gotta* lie t white folks! Theys on our necks! They *make* us lie t them! Whut kin we do but lie?"

"*Dan*!"

"Lissen t whut Ahm telling yuh, May! Tell the mayor Ahm gittin outta bed t see him. Tell im Ahm dressin, see? Tell im t wait a few minutes."

"Yadh?"

"Then go t the basement n tell Deacon Smith Ahm wid the mayor. Tell im n the other deacons t wait."

"Now?"

"Yeah; but Ah ain thru yit. Yuh know Hadley n Green'"

"Them *Reds*?"

"Yadh...."

"Dan!" said May, her lungs suspiring in one gasp of amazed helplessness.

"May, fer Chrissakes!"

She began to cry.

"Don do nothin wrong. Dan, please! Don't fergit Jimmy! Hes jus a young boy n hes gotta grow up in this town wid these white folks. Don go n do nothin n fix it so he wont have a chance.... Me n yuh don mattah, but thinka him."

Taylor swallowed and looked hard at her.

"Dan, please...."

"May, yuh do whut Ah tell yuh t do! Ah know whut Ahm doin. Hadley n Green downstairs, in the Bible Room. Tell me so nobody kin hear yuh, hear?—tell me aftah yuh don tol the others—tell em t come in here. Let em in thru yo room...."

"Naw!"

She tried to get through the door. He ran to her and caught her hand again.

"Yuh do whut Ah tell yuh, May!"

"Ah ain gonna have them Reds in *here* wid tha mayor n Chiefa Police out *there*! Ah *ain*!"

"Go on do whut Ah tell yuh, May!"

"Dan!"

"Go *ahead*, May!"

He pushed her. She went through the door, slowly, looking back at him. When the door was closed he rammed his hands deep into his pants' pockets, turned to the open window, and looked out into the street. It was profoundly quiet, save for the silvery sound of children's voices back of the magnolias and violets. Window panes across the street were bleed-red from dying sunlight. A car sped past, lifting a great cloud of yellow-brown dust. He went to the center of the room and stood over a table littered with papers. He cocked his head, listening. He heard a door slam; footsteps echoed and ceased. A big eight-day clock above his head boomed six times; he looked and his eyes strayed up and rested on a gleaming, brass cross. Gawd, hep me now! Jus hep me t go thru wid this! Again he heard a door slam, Lawd, Ah hope May do right now.... N Ah hope Jimmy don go n ack a fool.... He crossed the floor on tiptoe, opened the door, and peeped into May's room. It was empty. A slender prism of dust-filled sunlight cut across the air. He closed the door, turned, pulled off his coat and threw it across the table. Then he loosened his collar and tie. He went to the window again and leaned with his back against the ledge, watching the door of May's room. He heard a hoarse voice rise and die. Footsteps again sounded and ceased. He frowned, listening. How come its takin May so long? He started when a timid knock came. He hurried to the door and cracked it.

## V

Hello, Reverend Taylor!" said Hadley, a white man.

"How yuh, [illegible]er Hadley?"

"N how yuh, Reveren?" asked Green, a black man.

"Ahm fine, Brother Green. C mon in, yuh all."

Hadley and Green edged through the door.

"Say, whuts dis mystery?" asked Green.

"Ssssh! Don t talk so loud," cautioned Taylor. "The mayor n the Chiefa Police is out there."

The Negro and the white man stood stone still.

"Do they know wes here?" asked Green.

"Naw, n don git scared. They done come t see me erbout tha demonstration...."

Hadley and Green looked at each other.

"Pull down tha shade," whispered Green, pointing a shaking, black finger.

Quickly, Hadley moved to one side, out of range of the window. His cheeks flushed pink. Taylor lowered the shade and faced them in the semi-darkness. The eyes of the white man and the black man were upon him steadily.

"Waal?" said Green.

"Ah spose yuh know whuts up," said Taylor.

"Theyre here to scare you," said Hadley.

"Ahm trustin Gawd," sighed Taylor.

"Whut yuh gonna tell em?" asked Green.

"Thas whut Ah wanna see yuh all erbout," said Taylor.

"O.K. Whut kin we do?" asked Green.

Taylor looked around and motioned toward two chairs.

"Set down, Brothers."

"Naw, this is awright," said Green, still standing.

"Come on," said Hadley. "What's on your mind?"

Taylor folded his arms and half-sat and half-leaned on the edge of the table.

"Yuh all think wes gonna have many folks out in the mawnin fer the demonstration?"

"Whut yuh mean?" asked Green.

"When Ahm talkin wid the mayor and Chiefa Police Ah wanna know how many folks Ahm talkin fer. There ain no use in us havin a demonstration ef ain but a few of us is gonna be out there. The police will try t kill us then...."

"How many folks we can get out tomorrow depends a great deal on you, Reverend," said Hadley.

"Hows that?" asked Taylor.

"If you had let us use your name on those handbills, we could say five thousand easily...."

Taylor turned sharply to Hadley.

"Lissen, Brother. Ah done tol yuh Ah cant do tha! N there ain no use in us talkin erbout it no mo! Ah done told yuh Ah cant let them white folks know Ahm callin folks t demonstrate. Aftah all, Ahma preacher...."

"Its yo duty, Reveren," said Green. "We owes it our black folks."

"Ahm doin mah duty as Gawd lets me see it," said Taylor.

"All right, Reverend," said Hadley. "Heres what happened: Weve covered the city with fifteen thousand leaflets. Weve contacted every organization we could think of, black and white. In other words, weve done all we could. The rest depends on the leaders of each group. If we had their active endorsement, none of us would have to worry about a crowd tomorrow. And if we had a crowd we would not have to worry about the police. If they see the whole town turning out, they'll not start any trouble. Now, youre known. White and black in this town respect you. If you let us send out another leaflet with your name on it calling for...."

Taylor turned from them and drew his hand nervously across his face. Hadley and Green were silent, watching him. Taylor went to the window and pulled back the curtain slightly and peeped out. Without turning he said softly:

"Ah done tol yuh all Ah ain scareda lettin yuh use mah name."

"We don mean *that*," said Green hastily.

"If it wuz jus me who wuz takin the chance," said Taylor, "Ah wouldn't care none. But Gawd knows it ain right fer me to send them po folks out inter the streets in fronta police. Gawd knows, Ah cant do tha!"

"Honest, Reveren," said Green, touching Taylor's arm. "Ah don understan. Yuh done been thu harder things than this befo."

"N Ahll go thu wid em ergin," said Taylor proudly.

"All right!" said Hadley. "You can say the word that can make this thing a success. If you don't and we have no crowd, then youre to blame...."

Taylor's eyes narrowed and when he spoke there was a note of anger in his voice.

"Gawd hep yuh ef yuhs a-tryin t say yuh gonna blame me ef things don go right!"

"Naw, Reveren!" said Green, coming hurriedly forward and spreading his black hands softly upon the air. "Don feel that way! Wes all jus in a jam. We got t do either two things: Call off this demonstration and let the folks stay hongry, er git as many as we kin together n go downtown in the mawnin. Ef we git five thousan down there the police wont bother us. Ef yuh let us send out yo name tellin the black folks....?"

"Naw, Brother!" said Taylor emphatically.

"Then the demonstrations going to be smashed," said Hadley. "*You* can stop it! You have the responsibility and the blame!"

Taylor sighed.

"Gawd knows Ah ain t blame. Ahm doin what mah heart tells me t do...."

"Then whats keeping you from working with us?" asked Hadley. "Im a white man and Im here willing to fight for your peoples rights!"

"Ahm wid yuh, Brother!" said Taylor in a voice which carried a deep note of pleading. "Ahm wid yuh no mattah what yuh *think*! But yuh *cant* use may name! Ef them white folks knowed Ah wuz callin mah folks in the streets to demonstrate, they wouldn't never gimme a change t git something fer mah folks ergin...."

"Thats just it, Reverend," said Hadley. "Don't be afraid of their turning you down because youre fighting for your people. If they knew youd really fight, theyd dislike you; yes? But you can *make* them give something to *all* of your people, not just to *you*. Dont you see, Taylor, youre standing *between* your people and the white folks. You can make them give something to *all* of them. And the poor, hungry white folks will be with you."

"Ah cant lead mah folks t go ergin them white folks like tha," said Taylor. "Thas *war*!"

Hadley came close to Taylor.

"Reverend, cant you see thats just the way the white folks *want* you to feel? Are you leading your folks just because the white folks *say* you should, or are you leading them because you *want* to? Dont you believe in what youre doing? What kind of leaders are black people to have if the white folks pick them and tell them what to do?"

"Brothers, Ahma Christian, n whut yuhs asting fer is something tha makes blood!" thundered Taylor.

Hadley and Green looked at each other.

"Waal, whut yuh gonna tell the mayor?" asked Green.

Taylor stood in the center of the room with his hands in his pockets, looking down at his feet. His voice came low, as though he were talking to himself, trying to convince himself.

"Ahma tell em mah folks is hongry. Ahma tell em they wanna march. Ahma tell em if they march Ahma march wid em. Ahma tell em they wan bread...."

"Reverend," asked Hadley, "why do you feel that this is so different from all the other times you've gone straight to the white folks and *demanded* things for your people?"

"It is different!" said Taylor.

"You didn't say that when you saved Scott from that *mob*!"

"Tha wuz different, Brother Hadley."

"I dont see it."

Taylor's voice came low.

"Ah feels differently erbout it, Brothers."

"You saved Scotts life. All right, youre saving the lives of your congregation now. Scott was one man, but there are five hundred starving people in your church."

"We ain facin no mob now, Brother Hadley."

"Then what in Gods name are we facin, Reverend? If those police wholl be out there in the morning with their guns and clubs arent a *legal* mob, then what...."

"Its more than a mob, Brother Hadley."

Hadley and Green shook their heads.

"Ah don understand yuh, Reveren," said Green.

"When Ah saved Scott from tha mob, Ah wuz goin ergin *some* of the white folks. But this thing is going ergin em *all*! This is too much like war!"

"You mean youre going against the ones with *money* now!" said Hadley. "Over three thousand of the poor white folks will be with us...."

"But, Brother Hadley, the white folks whos got moneys got *everything*! This is jus like civil war!"

"Reverend," said Hadley, "cant you see that if they were not afraid they wouldn't be here asking to *talk* with you? Go in and talk with them, speak to them in the name of five thousand hungry people. Tell the mayor and the Chief of Police that if they dont give the relief back we will demonstrate."

"Ah cant do tha, Brothers. Ah cant let these white folks think Ahm leadin mah folks tha way. Ah tol yuh brothers when Ah ergreed t work wid yuh Ahd go as fer as Ah could. Waal, Ah done tha. Now, yuh here astin me t threaten this whole town n Ah ain gonna do tha!" said Taylor.

"Yuh astin fer bread, Reveren," said Green.

"Its threatenin, Brothers," said Taylor. "N tha ain Gawds way!"

"So youll let your folks starve before youll stand up and talk to those white folks?" asked Hadley.

"Ahm ackin as Gawd gives me the light to see," said Taylor.

There was silence. Then Hadley laughed, noiselessly.

"Well" he said. "I didn't know you felt this way, Reverend. I thought we could count on you. You know the Party will stand behind you no matter what happens."

"Ahm sorry, Brother Hadley," said Taylor.

"When kin we see yuh t fin out whut the mayor n Chiefa Police say?" asked Green.

Taylor looked at his watch.

"Its a little aftah six now. Make it half-pas six. Thall gimme time t see the Deacon Board."

Green sighed.

"O.K."

"O.K."

Taylor held the door for them. Then he stood in the center of the room and looked miles through the floor. Lawd, Ah hope Ahm doin right. N they think Ahm scared.... He flushed hot with shame and anger. He sat in a chair for a moment, then got right up. He drummed his fingers on the corner of the table. Shucks, Ah jus as well see them white folks now n git it over wid. Ah knowed this wuz comin up! Ah knowed it! He went through May's room, walking slowly, softly, seeing in his mind the picture of the fat, pink face of Mayor Bolton and the lean red face of Chief of Police Bruden. As he turned into the narrow hall that led to the parlor he heard children yelling in the playground. He went down a stairway, opened a door, and walked through his hushed, dim-lit church. Pale rose light fell slantwise through stained windows and glinted on mahogany pews. He lifted his eyes and saw the figure of Christ on a huge snow-white cross. Gawd, hep me now! Lemme do the right thing! He followed a red carpet to a door that opened into the parlor. He paused and passed his tongue over his dry lips. He could feel his heart beating. Ahll let them do all the talkin. Ahll just tell em mah folks is hongry. Thas all Ah kin do. Slowly, he turned the knob, his lips half-parted in dread.

*VI*

"Why, hello, Dan!"

"Good evenin, Mistah Mayor."

"Howve you been, Dan?"

"Fairly well, wid de hepa Gawd, suh."

Taylor shook hands with a tall, fat white man in a blue serge suit.

"Its been a long time since Ive seen you, Dan."

"Yessuh. It sho has, yo Honah."

"Hows Jimmy?"

"Jus fine, suh."

"Thats a fine boy youve got, Dan."

"Ahm sho glad yuh think so, suh."

"If you raise that boy right he will be a leader of his people some day, Dan."

"Thas the one hope of mah life, suh," said Taylor with deep emotion.

"May was tellin me youre sick," said the mayor.

"Aw, it ain nothin, suh. Jusa summer col, suh."

"I didn't mean to bother you if youre sick, Dan."

"Thas awright, suh. Ahm feelin much bettah now, suh."

"Oh, youll pull through all right; itll take a lot more than a summer cold to kill old war-horses like you and me, eh, Dan?"

The mayor laughed and winked.

"Ahm hopin Gawd spares me a few mo years, suh," said Taylor.

"But at least you look all right now," said the mayor. "Say, Dan, I want you to meet Chief Bruden. This is Dan, Chief, the boy I was telling you about."

"How yuh, Mistah Chief?" asked Taylor.

A black cigar burned red in Bruden's mouth. He shifted his thin body and growled:

"Hello, boy."

"And, Dan, this is Mr. Lowe, head of our fine Industrial Squad."

"How yuh, suh?" asked Taylor.

Lowe nooded with half-closed eyes.

"Sit down, Dan," said the mayor.

"Yessuh."

Taylor sat on the edge of a chair and rested his palm lightly on his knees.

"Maybe our little visit is a surprise, hunh?" asked the mayor.

"Yessuh. It is. But Ahm glad to be of any hep Ah kin, suh."

"Good; I knew youd talk that way. Now, Dan, we want you to help us. Youre a responsible man in this community; thats why we are here."

"Ah tries t do mah duty as Gawd shows it t me, suh."

"That's the spirit, Dan!" The mayor patted Taylor's knee. "Now, Im going to be perfectly frank with you, Dan." The mayor peeled a wrapper from a black cigar. "Here, have one."

"Thank yuh, suh." Taylor put the cigar into his vest pocket. "Ahll smoke it aftah dinner, suh."

There was a silence during which the three white men

looked at Taylor.

"Dan," began the mayor, "its not every nigger Id come to and talk this way. Its not every nigger Id trust as Im about to trust you." The mayor looked straight at Taylor. "Im doing this because Ive faith in you. Ive known you for twenty-five years, Dan. During that time I think Ive played pretty fair with you, havent I?"

Taylor swallowed.

"Ahll have t say yuh have, yo Honah."

"Mister Lowe and the Chief here had another plan," said the mayor. "But I wouldn't hear of it. I told them Id work this thing *my* way. I thought *my* way would be much better. After all, Dan, you and I have worked together in the past and I dont see why we cant work together now. Ive backed you up in a lot of things, Dan. Ive backed you even when other white folks said you were wrong. But I believe in doing the right thing. After all, we are human beings, arent we?"

"Yessuh."

"What Ive done for you in the past Im willing to do again. You remember Scott, dont you?"

"Yessuh. Yuhs been a big hep t me n mah folks, suh."

"Well, Dan, my office is always open to you when you want to see me about any of your problems or the problems of your people," said the mayor.

"N Gawd knows Ah sho thanks yuh, suh."

The mayor bit off the tip of his cigar and spat it into a brass spittoon.

"I'm not going to beat about the bush, Dan."

The mayor paused again. There was silence. Taylor felt called upon to say something.

"Yessuh. Ah sho preciates tha, suh."

"You know these Goddam Reds are organizing a demonstration for tomorrow, dont you?" asked the mayor.

Taylor locked his lips before he answered.

"Yessuh. Ah done heard a lotta folks talkin erbout it, suh."

"That's too bad, Dan," said the mayor.

"Folks is talking erbout it everywhere...." began Taylor.

"What *folks*?" interjected Bruden.

"Waal, mos everbody, suh."

Bruden leaned forward and shook his finger in Taylor's face.

"Listen, boy! I want you to get this straight! Reds aint *folks*! Theyre Goddam sonofabitching lousy bastard rats trying to wreck our country, see? Theyre stirring up race hate! Youre old enough to understand that!"

"Hes telling you straight, boy," said Lowe. "And furthermore...."

"Say, whats all this?" demanded the mayor, turning to Lowe and Bruden. "Wait a minute! Whats the big idea of talking to Dan like that? Hes not mixed up in anything like that. Save that kind of talk for bad niggers...."

"The quicker all you niggers get sense enough in your Goddam thick skulls to keep away from them Reds the better off you'll be!" said Bruden, ignoring the mayor.

"Aw, c mon," said the mayor. "Dans all right. Aint that right, Dan?"

Taylor looked down and saw at his feet a sharp jutting angle of sunshine falling obliquely through a window. His neck felt hot. This is the show-down, he thought. Theys tryin t trap me.... He cleared his throat and looked up slowly and saw the mayor gazing at him with cold grey eyes. He shifted his body slightly and saw the glint of Chief Bruden's police star; he saw Lowe's red lips twisted in half-smile and half-leer.

"Isnt that right, Dan?" the mayor asked again.

"Yessuh. Whut yuh white folks say is right. N Ah ergrees wid yuh. But Ah ain foolin wid nobody thas tryin t stir up race hate; naw, *suh*! Ah ain never done nothin like tha n Ah never will, so hep me Gawd! Now, erbout this demonstration: Yessuh, Ah heard erbout it. Thas all everbodys been talking erbout erroun here fer a week, yo Honah. Waal, suh, Ahll tell yuh. Theys jus hongry. Theys marchin cause they don know whut else t do, n thas the truth from here t Heaven! Mistah Mayor, theys hongry! Jus plain *hongry*! Ah give mah las dime today t a woman wid eight chillun...."

"We know all about that, Dan," said the mayor.

"Everybodys hungry," said Bruden.

"Boy, cant you see we are all in the *same* boat?" asked Lowe.

"Waal...." drawled Taylor.

"Thingsll be straightened out soon, Dan," interjected the mayor soothingly. "We will see that nobody starves."

"Ah beg yo pardon, suh. A man died jus the other day from starvation...."

Taylor's voice died in his throat and he looked at the floor. He knew that he had said too much.

"I reckon that makes you out a liar, don't it?" Bruden asked the mayor.

"Aw, naw, suh!" said Taylor eagerly. "Ah ain disputin nobodys word, suh. Ah jus thought yuh hadnt heard erbout it...."

"We know all about it," said Bruden, turning his head away and looking out of the window; as though he was through with the conversation, as though his mind was made up.

"What do they think theyre going to get by marching?" asked Lowe.

"They think they kin git some bread," said Taylor.

"It wont get em a Goddam crumb!" said Lowe.

There was silence. Taylor looked again at the jutting angle of sunshine and heard the mayor's shoes shifting uneasily on the brown carpet. A match struck; he heard it drop with an angry hiss into the spittoon.

"I dont see why we cant get along, Dan," drawled the mayor.

"Ahm willin t git erlong, Mistah Mayor!" protested Taylor.

"Dan, here we all are, living in good old Dixie. There are twenty-five thousand people in this town. Ten thousand of those people are black, Dan. Theyre your people. Now, its our job to keep order among the whites, and we would like to think of you as being a responsible man to keep order among the blacks. Lets get together, Dan. You know these black people better than we do. We want to feel we can depend on you. Why dont you look at this thing the right way? You know Ill never turn you down if you do the right thing...."

"Mistah Mayor, as Gawds mah judge, Ahm doin right when Ah tell yuh mah folks is hongry...."

"Youre not doing right when you act like a Goddam Red!" said Lowe.

"These niggers around here trust you, Dan," said the mayor. "Theyll do what you tell them to do."

"Speak to them," urged Lowe. "Tell them whats right."

"Mistah Mayor, Gawd in Heaven knows mah people is hongry," said Taylor humbly.

The mayor threw his body forward in the chair and rested his hands on his knees.

"Listen, Dan. I know just how you feel. We all feel that way. White people are hungry, too. But weve got to be prudent and do this thing right. Dan, youre a leader and youve got great influence over your congregation here." The mayor paused to let the weight of his words sink in. "Dan, I helped you to get that influence by doing your people a lot of favors through *you* when you came into my office a number of times." The mayor looked at Taylor solemnly. "I'm asking you now to use that influence and tell your people to stay *off* the streets tomorrow!"

When Taylor spoke he seemed to be outside of himself, listening to his own words, aghast and fearful.

"Ahm sho thankful as Gawd knows fer all yuh done done fer me n mah people, suh. But mah word don go so fer in times like these, yo Honah. These folks is lookin t me fer bread n Ah cant give it t em. They hongry n Ah cant tell em where t eat. Theys gonna march no mattah whut Ah say. . . ."

"Youve got influence here, Dan, and you can use it!"

"They wouldnt be marchin ef they wuznt hongry, yo Honah!"

"Thats Red talk, nigger!" said Lowe, standing.

"Aw, thas all right, Lowe," said the mayor, placatingly.

"Im not going to sit here and let this Goddam nigger insult me to my face!" said Lowe.

Taylor stood up.

"Ahm sorry, suh!"

"You *will* be sorry when you find a Goddam rope around your neck!" said Lowe.

"Now, now," said the mayor, laying his hand on Lowe's arm. He turned to Taylor. "You dont mean you wont speak to em, do you, Dan?"

"Ahm lettin Gawd be mah judge, suh!"

"If you dont do the right thing we will be your judges!" said Lowe.

"Ahm trustin Gawd, suh."

"Well, Goddammit, you better let Him guide you right!" said Bruden, jumping to his feet.

"But white folks!" pleaded Taylor. "Mah folks cant plant nothin! Its ergin the law! They cant git no work! Whut they gonna do? They don wan no trouble. . . ."

"Youre heading for a plenty right now!" said Bruden.

The mayor spoke and his voice was low and resigned.

"Ive done all I could, Dan. You wouldn't follow my advice, now the rest is up to Mister Lowe and Chief Bruden here."

Bruden's voice came with a shout:

"A niggers a nigger! I was against coming here talking to this nigger like he was a white man in the first place. He needs his teeth kicked down his throat!" Bruden poked the red tip of his cigar at Taylor's face. "Im the Chief of Police of this town, and Im here to see that orders kept! The Chamber of Commerce says therell be no demonstration tomorrow. Therell be three hundred police downtown in the morning to see that thats done. If you send them niggers down there, or if you let these Goddam Reds fool you into it, Ill not be responsible for whatll happen! Weve never had a riot in this town, but youre plotting one right now when you act like this! And you know wholl get the worst of it!"

"Cant yuh do something, Mistah Mayor? Cant yuh fix it sos we kin git some relief?"

The mayor did not answer; Lowe came close to him.

"We know youve been seeing Hadley and Green! We know whats going on! So watch yourself, nigger!"

"Suh?"

They went out. Taylor stood at the window and saw them get into their car and disappear in a cloud of dust around a corner. He sat down, feeling sweat over all his body. Gawd knows what t do. . . . He brought Lowe n Bruden here t threaten me. . . . N they know erbout Hadley and Green. . . . Somebody tol. . . . He looked up, hearing the soft boom of a clock. Hadley n Greens comin back here at six-thirty. . . . He went down the hall thinking, Lawd, ef Ah only knowed whut t do. . . .

## *VII*

May met him in the hall.

"Whut they say, Dan?" she asked with suppressed hysteria.

"Don brother me now, May!"

"There wont be no trouble, will it, Dan?"

"Naw, May! Now, please! Yuh worrin me!"

"Yuhll spoil things fer Jimmy, Dan! Don do nothin wrong! Its fer Jimmy Ahm astin—"

"Itll be awright! Now, lemme go!"

He hurried down the hallway, leaving her crying. Good Gawd! How come she wont leave me erlone. Firs, its Jimmy; then its her. . . . Ef it ain one its the other. . . . He went to the end of the hall, down the steps, turned, and came to the door of the Deacon Room. He heard subdued voices. He knew that the deacons were waiting for him, waiting for some definite word. Shucks, Ahm willin t go thu wid tha march ef they is. Them white folks cant kill us *all*. . . He pushed the door in. The voices ceased. He saw a dense cloud of tobacco smoke and a circle of black faces. He forced a wan smile.

"Good evenin, Brothers—" he said.

"How yuh, Reveren?" asked Deacon Bonds.

"Ahm sorry Ahm late," said Taylor.

"Wuz tha the mayor out there?" asked Deacon Williams.

Taylor paused and pulled out his handkerchief.

"Yeah, Brothers, it wuz the mayor. N the Chiefa Police n tha man Lowe from the Red Squad. . . ."

"RED SQUAD!" shouted Deacon Smith, jumping to his feet with an outraged look.

"Whut they say, Reveren?" asked Deacon Williams quietly, ignoring Deacon Smith.

Taylor sighed and looked at the floor. For a moment he loathed them because he knew they were expecting an answer to their questions. They were expecting him to speak now as he had always spoken, to the point, confidently, and finally. He had wanted them to do the talking, and now they were silent, waiting for him to speak. Lawd, Ah hope Ahm doin right. Ah don wanna lead these folks wrong. . . .

"They know all erbout tha demonstration," he said.

"But whut they *say*?" asked Deacon Bonds.

"Shucks, man! Yuh *know* whut they said!" said Deacon Smith. "Yuh *know* how them white folks feel erbout this thing!"

"They don wan us t march," said Taylor "They said if we march theyll put the police on us. . . ."

Deacon Smith leveled his forefinger at Taylor and intoned: "AH TOL YUH SO!"

"They said therell be a riot," Taylor went on stubbornly.

"Yessuh! Brothers, wes gotta do *right*!" said Deacon

Smith, banging his open palm down on the table. "Ah awways said wes gotta do *right*, Reveren!"

"Ahm prayin t Gawd t guide us right," said Taylor.

"Yuh sho don ack like it!" said Deacon Smith.

"Let the Reveren finish, will yuh?" asked Deacon Bonds.

"Wes gotta do right!" said Deacon Smith again, sitting down, folding his arms, crossing his legs and turning his face sternly away.

"Whut else they say, Reveren?" asked Deacon Bonds.

Taylor signed.

"They say wes mixed up with the Reds...."

"N by Gawd we is!" bawled Deacon Smith. "At least *yuh* is! Ah tol yuh t leave them Reds erlone! They don mean *no*body *no* good! When men starts t deny Gawd, nothin good kin come from em!"

"Brother Smith, let the Reveren talk, will yuh?" asked Deacon Williams.

"He ain talkin *sense*!" said Deacon Smith.

"They say therell be three hundred police downtown in the mawnin," said Taylor, ignoring Smith. "They say only Washington kin do something erbout relief, n tha we must wait...."

"N Gawd Awmighty knows thas all we kin do: wait!" said Deacon Smith.

"Fer Chrissakes, Brother Smith, let im talk!" said Deacon Williams. "We all know *yuh*s scared!"

"Ah ain scared! Ah got *sense*! Ah...."

"Yuh sho don ack like it, the way yuh shoot off yo mouth!" said Deacon Williams.

Deacon Smith stood up.

"Yuh cant talk tha way t me!"

"Then keep yo big mouth shut!" said Deacon Williams.

"Whos gonna make me?"

"Brothers, please!" begged Taylor.

"A fool kin see tha the white folks is scared!" said Deacon Williams.

"N jus cause theys *scared*, theyll kill *any*body whuts fool ernuff t go downtown in the mawnin," said Deacon Smith.

"Shucks, Ahm willin t taka chance," said Deacon Hilton.

"Me too!"

"We ain got nothin t lose!"

"Any *fool* kin git his head busted!" said Deacon Smith.

"Brothers, fer the lova Gawd, quit fussin!" said Taylor.

They were silent. Taylor looked at them, letting his eyes rove from face to face.

"Brothers, this is the case," he said finally. "They threatenin us not t march, but they ain saying our folks kin git no relief. Now, Ah figgers ef we hada big crowd downtown in the mawnin they wont bother us...."

"Thas whut *yuh* think," sneered Deacon Smith.

"N ef we don hava big crowd, theyll smash us. Now, its up t us...."

"Reveren, do the *po* white folks say they gonna be *wid* us?" asked Deacon Jones.

"Brother Hadley tol me theys gonna be wid us," said Taylor.

"Tha Hadley is a lie n the trutha Gawd ain in im!" shouted Deacon Smith. "Tha white man is jus tryin t trick yuh, Ahm telling yuh!"

"Waal, we kin never know less we try n see," said Deacon Bonds.

"Yeah, but they ain gonna let yuh try but *once*," said Deacon Smith.

"Waal, Ah ain got but *one* time t die!" said Deacon Bonds.

"Ah think the white folksll be there," said Taylor. "Theys hongry, too..."

"Yuhll wake up *some* day!" said Deacon Smith.

"Whut yuh gonna do, Reveren?" asked Deacon Williams.

"Do the congregation wanns march?" asked Taylor.

"They say t eys *gonna* march!"

"Waal, Ahll march wid en," said Taylor quietly. "They wont march erlone...."

Deacon Smith waved his arms and screamed.

"Yeah yuhll march! But yuhs scared to let em use yo name! Whut kinda leader is yuh? Ef yuhs gonna ack a fool n be a Red, then how come yuh wont come on out n say so sos we kin all hear it? Naw, you ain man ernuff t say whut yuh is! Yuh wanna stan in wid the white folks! Yuh wanna stan in wid the Reds! Yuh wanna stan in wid the congregation! Yuh wanna stan in wid the Deacon Board! Yuh wanna stan in wid *ever*body n yuh stan in wid *no*body.

"Ahm ackin accordin to mah lights!" said Taylor.

"Waal, they ain lettin yuh see fer!" said Deacon Smith.

"Ef yuh gotta plan bettah than mine, Brother Smith, tell us erbout it!"

"AH SAY WE OUGHTNT MARCH!"

"Then, whut we gonna do?"

"Wait n see how things come out!"

"Ahm tireda waitin," said Taylor.

"How come yuh didnt send yo name out on them leaflets?" demanded Deacon Smith. Without waiting for Taylor to answer, he flared: "Ahll tell yuh why yuh didn't! Yuh *scared*! Yuh didnt wan them white folks t know yuhs mixed up in this demonstration. Yuh wanted em t think yuh wuz being pushed erlong by other folks n yuh couldn't help whut wuz happenin! But, Reveren, as sho as theres a Gawd in Heaven yuh ain foolin nobody!"

Taylor stood up.

"Brother Smith, Ah knows whut yuhs up t! Yuh tryin t run me outta mah church, but yuh cant! Gawd Awmighty Himself put me here n Ahm stayin till He says fer me t go! Yuh been schemin t git me out, but yuh cant do it this way! It ain right n Gawd knows it ain! Yeah; ef mah folks marches in the mawnin Ahm marchin wid em!"

"Thas the time, Reveren!"

"We kin show tha ol mayor something!"

"N therell be white folks wid us, too!"

"Ahll go wid the Reveren n the congregation!"

"Ahll go!"

"N me too!"

"Gawd ain wid yuh when yuh ain in the right!" said Deacon Smith.

"Gawd didnt mean fer folks t be hongry!" said Deacon Bonds.

"But He ain wid yuh when yuh stirrin up trouble, makin blood n riots!" said Deacon Smith. "N any man whut sets here n calls himself a leader called by Gawd t preach n leads his folks the wrong way is a fool n the spirita Gawd ain in im!"

"Now, wait a minute there, Brother Smith!" said Taylor. "Yuhs talkin *dangerous*!"

"Ah say any man whut leads his folks inter guns n police...."

"Ain nobody leadin us *nowhere*!" said Deacon Bonds.

"We gwine *ourselves*!" said Deacon Williams.

"Ah ain in this!" said Deacon Smith, jumping again to his feet. "Ah ain in this n Ahm gonna do whut Ah kin t hep mah people!"

The room grew quiet.

"Whut yuh mean, Brother Smith?" asked Taylor.

"Ah say Ahm gonna hep mah people!" said Deacon Smith again.

Taylor walked over to him.

"Is yuh gonna tell the white folks on us?"

Deacon Smith did not answer.

"Talk, Brother Smith!" said Taylor. "Tell us whut yuh mean!"

"Ah means whut Ah means!" said Deacon Smith; and he clamped his teeth tight, sat again, crossed his legs, folded his arms and stared at the blank wall.

Taylor swallowed and looked at the floor. Lawd, Ah don know whut to do! Ah wish this wuz over.... This niggers gonna tell on us! Hes gonna tell the white folks sos he kin

stan in wid em....

"Brother Smith...." began Taylor.

The door opened and Jimmy stepped into the room.

"Say, Pa!"

"Whut yuh wan, son?"

"Somebodys out front t see yuh. Theys in a car. Theys white folks."

"Scuse me, Brothers," said Taylor. "Ahll be right back."

"Wes gonna set right here till yuh git back," said Deacon Smith.

When outside the door, Taylor turned to Jimmy.

"Who is they, Jimmy? How come they wouldnt come in?"

"Ah dunno, Pa. The car drove up just as Ah wuz comin thu the gate. They white men. They said for yuh to come right out."

"Awright. N, son, yuh betta go see bout yo ma."

"Whuts the mattah?"

"Shes jus upset erbout the demonstration."

"Is they gonna march, Pa?"

"Ah reckon so."

"Is many gonna be out?"

"Ah dunno, son. Ah hope so. Yuh bettah go see erbout yo ma now."

"Yessuh."

"Yuh tell them boys whut Ah tol yuh?"

"Yessuh."

Taylor paused at the front door and peeped out from behind a curtain. In front of his gate was a long black car. Who kin tha be? For a moment he thought the mayor had come back. But his cars grey.... He opened the door and walked slowly down the steps. Lawd, mabbe we oughtnt go thu wid this demonstration aftah all? We might all be sorry ef somebodys killed in the mawnin.... He walked along a flower-bordered path that smelt of violets and magnolias. Dust rested filmily on tree leaves. The sun was almost gone. As he came to the car a white face looked out.

"You Taylor?"

"Yessuh," answered Taylor, smiling.

The rear door of the car opened and the white man stepped to the ground.

"So youre Taylor, hunh?"

"Yessuh," said Taylor again, still smiling, but puzzled. "Kin Ah be of service t yuh, suh?"

Taylor saw it coming, but could do nothing. He remembered afterward that he had wanted to ask. What yuh doin? The blow caught him flush on the point of the jaw, sending him flying backward. His head struck the edge of the runningboard; a flash of red shot before his eyes. He rolled, face downward, into a bed of thick violets. Dazed, he turned his head, trying to speak. He felt a hand grab the back of his collar and jerk him up.

"Get in the car, nigger!"

"Say, whu' yuh...."

"Shut up and get in the car, Goddam you!"

A blow came to his right eye. There were three white men now. They lifted him and rammed him down on the floor in the back of the car.

"Say, yuh cant do this!"

"Get your Goddam mouth shut, you bastard!"

A hard palm slapped him straight across his face. He struggled up, protesting.

"You...."

The heel of a shoe came hard into his solar plexus. He doubled up, like a jacknife. His breath left, and he was rigid, half-paralyzed.

"You think you can run this whole Goddam town, don't you? You think a nigger can run over white folks and get away with it?"

He lay still, barely breathing, looking at blurred white faces in the semi-darkness of the roaring car.

*VIII*

The moment he tried to tell the direction in which the car was moving, he knew he had waited too long. He remembered dimly that they had turned corners at least three times. He lay with closed eyes and wondered what they were going to do with him. She gonna be worried t death, he thought, thinking of May. And then he thought of Jimmy and said to himself, Ah hope he don go n ack a fool now.... The numbness which had deadened most of his stomach and chest was leaving. He felt sweat on his back and forehead. The car slowed, turned; then it ran fast again. He knew by the way the rocks crunched beneath the humming rubber tires that they were speeding over gravel. Whut roads this? He could not tell. There were so many gravel roads leading out of town. He tried to recall how long he had lain there half-paralyzed from that kick in the solar plexus. He was confused; it might have been five minutes or it might have been an hour. The car slowed again, turning. He smelt the strong scent of a burning cigarette and heard the toll of a far off church bell. The car stopped; he heard the sound of other cars, gears shifting and motors throbbing. We mus be at some crossroads. But he could not guess which one. He had an impulse to call for help. But there would not be any use in his doing that now. Mabbe they white folks anyhow. He would be better off as he was; even six white men were better than a mob of white men. The car was speeding again, lurching. He smelt dust, clay dust. Then he heard a hard, rasping voice:

"How is he?"

"O.K."

"Keep im quiet!"

"O.K."

He said nothing. He began to wonder how many of them were in the car. Yes, he should have been watching for something like this. They been threatening me fer a long time. Now this is it. The car was gradually slowing with that long slow slowing preceding a final stop. He felt the rubber tires turning over rough ground; his head rocked from side to side, hitting against the lower back of the front seat. Then the car stopped; the motor stopped; for a moment there was complete silence. Then he heard wind sighing in trees. Wes out in the country somewhere. In the woods, he thought.

"O.K.?"

"O.K.!"

He heard a door open.

"C mon, nigger! Get up and watch yourself!"

He pulled up and caught a glimpse of starry sky. As his feet hit the ground his head began to ache. He had lain cramped so long the blood had left his limbs; he took a step, kicking out his legs to restore circulation. His arms were grabbed from behind and he felt the pressure of a kneecap in the center of his spine. He gasped and reeled backward.

"Where you think youre going?"

He rested on his knees, his body full of pain. He heard a car door slam.

"Awright, nigger! Lets go! Straight ahead!"

He got up and twisted his head about to see who had spoken. He saw four blurred white faces and then they were blotted out. He reeled backward again, his head striking the ground. A pain knotted in his temple.

"Get up, nigger! Keep your eyes in front, and walk, God-dammit!"

He pulled up and limped off, his head down. Mabbe they gonna shoot me? His feet and the feet behind him made a soft *cush-cush* in the dew-wet grass and leaves.

"Aw right, nigger!"

He stopped. Slowly he raised his eyes; he sar a tall

white man holding a plaited leather whip in his hand, hitting it gently against his trousers' leg.

"You know what this is, nigger?"

He said nothing.

"Wont talk, hunh? Well, this is a nigger-lesson!"

The whip flashed in faint starlight. The blow numbed his lips. He tasted blood.

"You know what this is? Im asking you again, nigger?"

"Nawsuh," he whispered.

"This is a nigger-whip!"

The leather whacked across his shoulders.

"Mistah, Ah ain done nothin!"

"Aw, naw! You aint done nothing! You aint never done a Goddam thing, have you?" White men were standing close around him now. "All you ever do is play around with Reds, dont you? All you ever do is get crowds of niggers together to threaten white folks, dont you? When we get through with you to-night youll know how to stay in a niggers place! C mon! Get that Goddam vest off!"

He did not move. The whip wrapped itself around his neck, leaving a ring of fire.

"You want me to *beat* it off you?"

He pulled off the vest and held it in his hands.

"C mon! Get that shirt and undershirt off!"

He stripped to his waist and stood trembling. A night wind cooled his sweaty body; he was conscious of his back as he had never been before, conscious of every square inch of black skin there. One of the white men walked off a few paces and stopped.

"Bring im over here!"

"O.K.!"

They guided him with prods and kicks.

"On your knees, nigger!"

He did not move. Again his arms were caught from behind and a kneecap came into the center of his back, Breathless, he dropped, his hands and knees cooling in the wet grass. He lifted his fingers to feel his swelling lips; he felt his wrists being grabbed and carried around the trunk of a tree. He held stiffly and struggled against a rope.

"Let go!"

His arms went limp. He rested his face against a cold treetrunk. A rope cut into his wrists. They tied his feet together, drawing the rope tight about his ankles. He looked around; they stood watching.

"Well, nigger, what do you know?"

"Nothin, suh."

"Youre a preacher, aint you?"

"Yessuh."

"Well, lets hear you pray some!"

He said nothing. The whip lashed across his bare back, *whick*! He flinched and struggled against the rope that cut his wrists to the bone. The leather thong hummed again, *whick*! and his spine arched inward, like a taut bow.

"Goddam your black soul, pray!"

He twisted his face around, pleading:

"Please, Mistah! Don whip me! Ah ain done nothin...."

Another lash came across his half-turned cheek, *whick*! He jerked around and sheltered his face against the treetrunk. The lash hit his back, *whick*!

"*Hit* that black bastard, Bob!"

"Let me have that whip!"

"Naw, wait a minute!"

He said nothing. He clenched his teeth, his whole body quivering and waiting. A split second after each blow his body would lurch, as though absorbing the shock.

"You going to pray? You want me to beat you till you *cant* pray?"

He said nothing. He was expecting each blow now; he could almost feel them before they came, stinging, burning. Each flick came straight on his back and left a streak of fire, a streak that merged with the last streak, making his whole back a sheet of living flame. He felt his strength ebbing; he could not clench his teeth any more. His mouth hung open.

"Let me have it, Bob?"

"Naw, its my turn!"

There was a pause. Then the blows came again; the pain burned its way into his body, wave upon wave. It seemed that when he held his muscles taut the blows hurt less; but he could not hold taut long. Each blow weakened him; each blow told him that soon he would give out. Warm blood seeped into his trousers, ran down his thighs. He felt he could not stand it any longer; he held his breath, his lungs swelling. Then he sagged, his back a leaping agony of fire; leaping as of itself, as though it were his but he could not control it any longer. The weight of his body rested on his arms; his head dropped to one side.

"Ahhill pppprray," he sobbed.

"Pray, then! Goddam you, pray!"

He tried to get his breath, tried to form words, hearing trees sighing somewhere. The thong flicked again, *whick*!

"Ain't you going to pray!"

"Yyyyyessuh...."

He struggled to draw enough air into his lungs to make his words sound.

"Ooour Fffather...."

The whip cut hard, *whick*! pouring fire and fire again.

"Have mercy, Lawd!" he screamed.

"Pray, nigger! Pray like you *mean* it!"

"... wwwich aaaaart in hheaven...hhhallowed bbe Ttthy nname...." The whip struck, *whick*! "Ahm prayin, Mmmmistah!"

"Goddam your black heart, *pray*!"

"...Ttthine kkkindom ccome.... Ttthy wwill bbe ddddone...."

He sobbed, his breath leaving his lungs, going out from him, not wanting to stay to give sound to his words. The whip brought more fire and he could not stand it any longer; his heart seemed about to burst. He screamed, stretched his knees out and twisted his arms till he lay sideways, half on his stomach. The whip came into his stomach, *whick*! He turned over; it came on his back again, *whick*! He stopped struggling and hung limply, his weight suspended on arms he could not feel. Then fire flamed over all his body; he stiffened, glaring upward, wild-eyed.

"Whats the matter, nigger? You hurt?"

"Awright, kill me! Tie me n kill me! Yuh white trash cowards, kill me!"

"Youre tough, aint you? Just wait! Well kill you, you black sonofabitch!"

"Lemme have that whip!"

"C mon, now! Its my turn!"

"Give me that whip, Ellis!"

He was taut, but not feeling the effort to be taut.

"Well git yuh white trash some day! So hep me Gawd, we'll git yuh!"

The whip stopped.

"Say that again, Goddam you!"

The whip lashed, *whick*! but there was no streak of fire now; there was only one sheet of pain stretching all over his body, leaping, jumping, blazing in his flesh.

"Say it!"

He relaxed and closed his eyes. He stretched his legs out, slowly, not listening, not waiting for the whip to fall, *say it whick! say it whick! say it whick!* He groaned. Then he dropped his head and could not feel any more.

## *IX*

Moonlight pained his eyeballs and the rustle of tree leaves thundered in his ears. He seemed to have only a

ead that hurt, a back that blazed, and eyes that ached. In him was a feeling that some power had sucked him deep down into the black earth, had drained all strength from him. He was waiting for that power to go away so he could come back to life, to light. His eyes were half-open, but his lids did not move. He was thirsty; he licked his lips, wanting water. Then the thunder in his ears died, rolling away. He moved his hand and touched his forehead; his arm fell limply in the wet grass and he lay waiting to feel that he wanted to move. As his blood began to flow swiftly again he felt sweat breaking out over his body. It seemed he could hear a tiny, faraway sound whispering over and over like a voice in an empty room: Ah got fever.... His back rested on a bed of fire, the imprint of leaves and grass searing him with a scalding persistence. He turned over on his stomach and groaned. Then he jerked up, half-sitting. He was fully conscious now, fighting for his strength, remembering the curses, the prayer and the whip. The voice whispered again, this time louder: Ah gotta git home.... With fumbling fingers he untied the rope from his ankles and wrists. They didnt kill me, he thought. He stood up and the dark earth swayed and the stars blurred. Lawd, have mercy! He found himself on his knees; he had not known when he had started falling; he just found himself on his knees. Lawd, Ahm weak! He stood up again, more slowly this time, holding onto a tree. He would have to get his shirt; he could not go through the streets with a naked and bleeding back. He put one foot in front of the other with conscious effort, holding his body stiffly. Each slight twist of his shoulders sent a wave of liquid metal over him. In the grass at his feet his shirt was smeared like a white blur. He touched it; it was wet. He held it, instinctively fearing to put it on. When it did touch, his whole back blazed with a pain so intense that it seemed to glow white hot. No, he could not put it on now. Stiffly, he went among the trees, holding the shirt in his hands, looking at the ground.

He stopped at the edge of a dirt road, conscious of the cool steady stars and the fire that smoldered in his back. What roads this? He could not tell. Then he heard a clock striking so faintly that it seemed to be tolling in his own mind. He counted, Wun, Tuh.... Its tuh erclock, he thought. He could not stay here all night; he had to go in one direction or another. He watched the brown dusty road winding away in the darkness, like a twisting ribbon. Then he ducked his head, being seared again with fire and feeling a slight rush of air brush across his face. A small bird wheeled past his eyes and fluttered dizzily in the starlight. He watched it veer and dip, then crash softly into a tree limb. It fell to the ground, flapping tiny wings blindly. Then the bird twittered in fright and sailed straight upward into the starlight, vanishing. He walked northward, not going anywhere in particular, but walked northward because the bird had darted in that direction.

The road curved, turned to gravel, crunching under his shoes. This mus be the way, he thought. There were fences along the sides of the road now. He went faster, holding his legs stiffly to avoid pulling the muscles in his back. A church steeple loomed in the starlight, slender and faint. Yeah, thas Houstons church. N Ah gotta go thu a white neighborhood, he thought with despair. He saw houses, white, serene and cool in the night. Spose Ah go to Houston? Naw, hes white. *White*.... Even tho he preaches the gospel Ah preaches, he might not take me in.... He passed a small graveyard surrounded by a high iron picket fence. A *white* graveyard, he thought and snickered bitterly. Lawd Gawd in Heaven, even the dead cant be together! He stopped and held his shirt in his hands. He dreaded trying to put it on, but he had to. Ah cant go thu the streets like this. Gingerly, he draped the shirt over his shoulders; the whole mass of bruised and mangled flesh flamed, glowed white. With a convulsive movement he rammed his arms into the sleeves, thinking that the faster he did it the less pain there would be. The fire raged so he had a wild impulse to run, feeling that he would have no time then to suffer. But he could not run in a white neighborhood. To run would mean to be shot for a burglar or anything. Stiff-legged, he went down a road that turned from brown dust to black asphalt. Ahead street lamps glowed in round, rosy hazes.

Far down the shadow-dappled pavement he heard the sound of feet. He walked past a white man, then he listened to the white man's footsteps dying away behind him. He stopped at a corner and held onto a telephone pole. It would be better to keep in the residential district than to go through town. He would be stopped and questioned in town surely. And jailed maybe. Three blocks later on a white boy came up on him so softly and suddenly that he started in panic. After the boy had gone he turned to look; he saw the boy turning, looking at him. He walked on hurriedly. A block later a white woman appeared. When she was some fifty feet away she crossed to the other side of the street. Hate tightened his throat, then he emptied his lungs in a short, silent, bitter laugh. Ah ain gonna bother yuh, white lady. Ah only wan t git home....

Like a pillar of fire he went through the white neighborhood. Some days theys gonna burn! some days theys gonna burn in Gawd Awmightys fire! How come they make us suffer so? The worls got too mucha everything! Yit they bleed us! They fatten on us like leeches! There ain no groun yuh kin walk on tha they don own! N Gawd knows tha ain right! He made the earth fer us all! He ain tol no lie when He put us in this worl n said be fruitful n multiply.... Fire fanned his hate; he stopped and looked at the burning stars. "Gawd, ef yuh gimme the strength Ahil tear this ol buildin down! Tear it down, Lawd! Tear it down like ol Samson tore the temple down!" He walked again, mumbling. "Lawd, tell me whut t do! Speak t me, Lawd!" He caught his breath; a dark figure came out of the shadows in front of him. He saw a glint of metal; it was a policeman. He held erect and walked rapidly. Ahil stop, he thought. He wont have t ast me t stop.... He saw the white face drawing closer. He stopped and waited.

"Put your hands up, nigger!"

"Yessuh."

He lifted his arms. The policeman patted his hips, his sides. His back blazed, but he bit his lips and held still.

"Who you work for?"

"Ahma preacher, suh."

"A *preacher*?"

"Yessuh."

"What you doing out here this time of night?"

"Ah wuz visitin a sick man, a janitah, suh, whut comes t mah church. He works fer Miz Harvey...."

"Who?"

"Miz Harvey, suh."

"Never heard of her, and I've been on this beat for ten years."

"She lives right back there, suh," he said, half-turning and pointing.

"Well, you look all right. You can go on. But keep out of here at night."

"Yessuh."

He was near his own people now. Across a grassy square he could see the top of the round-house glinting dully in the moonlight. The black asphalt turned to cinders and the houses were low, close together, squatting on the ground as though hiding in fear. He saw his church and relaxed. He came to the steps, caught hold of a bannister and rested a moment.

When inside he went quietly down a hall, mounted the stairs, and came to the door of his room. He groped in the dark and felt the bed. He tried to pull off the shirt. It had stuck. He peeled it. Then he eased onto the bed and lay on

his stomach. In the darkness his back seemed to take new fire. He went to the kitchen and wet a cloth with cold water. He lay down again with the cloth spread over him. That helped some. Then he began to shake. He was crying.

## X

The door creaked.

"Tha yuh, Pa?"

"Good Gawd, wes been lookin all over fer yuh! Where yuh been? Mas worried t death!"

"C mon in, son, n close the do."

"Don yuh wanna light?"

"Naw; close the do."

There was a short silence.

"Whuts the mattah, Pa? Yuh sick?"

"Close the do n sit down, son!"

Taylor could hear Jimmy's breathing, then a chair scraping over the floor and the soft rustle of Jimmy's clothes as he sat.

"Whuts the mattah, Pa? What happened?"

Taylor stared in the darkness and slowly licked his swollen lips. He wanted to speak, but somehow could not. Then he stiffened, hearing Jimmy rise.

"Set *down*, son!"

"But, Pa...."

Fire seethed not only in Taylor's back but all over, inside and out. It was the fire of shame. The questions that fell from Jimmy's lips burned as much as the whip had. There rose in him a memory of all the times he had given advice, counsel, and guidance to Jimmy. And he wanted to talk to him now as he had in the past. But his impulses were deadlocked. Then suddenly he heard himself speaking hoarsely, faintly. His voice was like a whisper rising from his whole body.

"They whipped me, son...."

"Whipped yuh? Who?"

Jimmy ran to the bed and touched him.

"Son, set *down*!"

Taylor's voice was filled with a sort of tense despair. He felt Jimmy's fingers leaving him slowly. There was a silence in which he could hear only his own breath struggling in his throat.

"Yuh mean the *white folks*?"

Taylor buried his face in his pillow and tried to still the heaving in his chest.

"They beat me, son...."

"Ahll git a doctah!"

"Naw!"

"But yuhs hurt!"

"Naw; lock the do! Don let May in here...."

"Goddam them white bastards!"

"Set down, son!"

"Who wuz they, Pa?"

"Yuh cant do nothin, son. Yuhil have t wait...."

"Wes been waitin too long! All we do is wait, *wait*!"

Jimmy's footsteps scuffed across the floor. Taylor sat up.

"Son?"

"Ahma git mah gun n git Pete n Bob n Joe n Sam! Theyll see they cant do this t us!"

Taylor groped in the darkness; he found Jimmy's shoulders.

"C mon son! Ahm awright...."

"Thas the reason why they kill us! We take everything they put on us! We take everything! *Everything*!"

"Yuh cant do nothing *erlone*, Jimmy!"

Jimmy's voice was tense, almost hysterical.

"But we kin *make* em know they cant do this t us widout us doin *something*! Aw, hell, Pa! Is we gonna be dogs *all* the time?"

"But theyll kill yuh, son!"

"Somebody *has* t die!"

Taylor wanted to tell Jimmy something, but he could not find the words. What he wanted to say boiled in him, but it seemed too big to come out. He flinched from pain, pressing his fingers to his mouth, holding his breath.

"Pa?"

"Yeah, son?"

"Hadley n Green wuz here t see yuh three-fo times."

"Yeah?"

Jimmy said nothing. Taylor twisted around, trying to see his son's face in the darkness.

"Whut they say, son?"

"Aw, hell! It don mattah...."

"Tell me whut they *said*!"

"Ttthey said.... Aw, Paw, they didn't know!"

"Whut they *say*?"

"They said yuh had done run out on em...."

"Run *out*?"

"Everybody wuz astin where yuh wuz," said Jimmy. "Nobody knowed. So they tol em yuh run out. N Brother Smith had the Deacon Board t vote yuh outta the church...."

"Vote me *out*?"

"They said they didnt wan yuh fer pastah no mo. It was Smith who made em do it. He tol em yuh had planned a demonstration n lef em holdin the bag. He fussed n stormed at em. They thought they wuz doin right...."

Taylor lay on his bed of fire in the darkness and cried. He felt Jimmy's fingers again on his face.

"Its awright, Pa. Well git erlong somehow...."

"Seems like Gawds don lef me! Ahd die fer mah people ef Ah only knowed how...."

"Pa...."

"How come Ah cant never do nothin? All may life Ah done tried n cant do nothing! *Nothin*!"

"Its awright, Pa!"

"Ah done lived all mah life on mah knees, a-beggin n a-pleadin wid the white folks. N all they gimme wuz crumbs! All they did wuz kick me! N then they come wida gun n ast me t give mah own soul! N ef Ah so much as talk lika man they try t kill me...."

He buried his face in the pillow, trying to sink himself into something so deeply that he could never feel again. He heard Jimmy turning the key in the lock.

"Son!"

Again he ran to Jimmy and held him.

"*Don* do tha, son!"

"Thingsll awwways be like this less we *fight*!"

"Set down, son! Yo po ol pas a-*beggin* yuh t set down!"

He pulled Jimmy back to the bed. But even then it did not seem he could speak as he wanted to. He felt what he wanted to say, but it was elusive and hard to formulate.

"Son...."

"Ah ain gonna live this way, Pa!"

He groped for Jimmy's shoulders in the darkness and squeezed them till the joints of his fingers cracked. And when words came they seemed to be tearing themselves from him, as though they were being pushed upward like hot lava out of a mountain from deep down.

"Don be a fool, son! Don thow you life erway! We cant do nothin erlone."

"But theys gonna treat us this way as long as we let em!"

He had to make Jimmy understand; for it seemed that in making him understand, in telling him, he, too, would understand.

"We gotta git wid the *people*, son. Too long we done tried t do this thing our way n when we failed we wanted t turn out n pay-off the white folks. Then they kill us up like flies. Its the *people*, son! Wes too much erlone this way!

Wes los when wes erlone! Wes gonna be wid our folks. . . ."

"But theys killin us!"

"N theyll keep on killin us less we learn how t fight! Son, its the people we mus gid wid us! Wes empty n weak this way! The reason we cant do nothin is cause wes so much erlone. . . ."

"Them Reds wuz right," said Jimmy.

"Ah dunno," said Taylor. "But let nothin come tween yuh n yo people. Even the Reds cant do nothin ef yuh lose yo people. . . ." fire burned him as he talked, and he talked as though trying to escape it. "Membah whut Ah tol yuh prayer wuz, son?"

There was silence, then Jimmy answered slowly:

"Yuh mean lettin Gawd be so real in yo life tha everything yuh do is cause of Im?"

"Yeah, but its different now, son. Its the *people*! Theys the ones whut mus be real t us! Gawds wid the people! N the peoples gotta be real as Gawd t us! We cant hep ourselves er the people when wes erlone. Ah been wrong erbout a lotta things Ah tol yuh, son. Ah tol yuh them things cause Ah thought they wuz right. Ah told yuh t work hard n climb t the top. Ah told yuh folks would lissen t yuh then. But they wont, son! All the will, all the strength, all the power, all the numbahs is in the people! Yuh cant live by yoself! When they beat me tonight, they beat *me*. . . . There wuznt nothin Ah could do but lay there n hate n pray n cry. . . . Ah couldnt *feel* mah people. Ah couldnt *see* mah people. Ah couldnt *hear* mah people. . . . All Ah could feel wuz the whip cuttin mah blood out. . . ."

In the darkness he imagined he could see Jimmy's face as he had seen it a thousand times, looking eagerly, his eyes staring before him, fashioning his words into images, into life. He hoped Jimmy was doing that now.

"Ahll awways hate them bastards! Ahll *aw*ways hate em!"

"Theres other ways, son."

"Yuhs sick, Pa. . . ."

"Wes all sick, son. Wes gotta think erbout the people, night n day, think erbout em so hard tha our po selves is fergotten. . . . Whut they suffer is whut Ah suffered las night when they whipped me. Wes gotta keep the people wid us."

Jimmy was silent. A soft knock came at the door.

*XI*

Dan!"

"Thas Ma," said Jimmy.

Taylor heard Jimmy rise to his feet; he gripped Jimmy's hands.

"Please, Pa! Let her come in n hep yuh!"

"Naw."

"Dan!"

Jimmy broke from him; he heard the key turn in the lock. The door opened.

"Dan! Fer Gawds sake, whuts the mattah?"

Jimmy switched on the light. Taylor lay blinking at May's anxious face. He felt shame again, knowing that he should not feel it, but feeling it anyway. He turned over and buried his face in his hands.

"Dan!"

She ran and knelt at the side of the bed.

"They tried t kill im, Ma! They beat im!" said Jimmy.

"Ah knowed them white folks wuz gonna do something like this! Ah knowed it," sobbed May.

Taylor sat up.

"Yuh be still! Lay down!" said May.

She pushed him back onto the bed.

"Cant yuh do something fer im, Ma? Hes sufferin tha way."

Taylor heard May leave the room and come back.

"Ho! still, Dan. This ain gonna hurt yuh. . . ."

He felt warm water laving him, then something cool smelled of oil. He heard Jimmy moving to and fro, get things for May. When his back was dressed he felt the back somehow changed. He wondered at the strange pe that seeped into his mind and body there in the room May and Jimmy, with the white folks far off in the darkn

"Feel bettah, Dan?"

"Ahm awright."

"Yuh hongry?"

"Naw."

He wanted to talk to Jimmy again, to tell him about black people. But he could not think of words that w say what he wanted to say. He would tell it somehow l on. He began to toss, moving jerkily, more now from r lessness of mind than from the dying fire still linger in his body.

*XII*

Suddenly the doorbell pealed. Taylor turned and May and Jimmy looking at each other.

"Somebody at the do," said Jimmy in a tense voice

"Yuh reckon they white folks?" asked May.

"Yuh bettah go down, Jimmy," said Taylor.

"Ef its any white folks tell em Dans out," said J

Jimmy's footsteps died away on the stairs. A door sl med. There were faint sounds of voices. Footsteps ech came on the stairs, grew loud. Taylor knew that more one person was coming up. He lifted himself and sat on edge of the bed.

"Dan, yuh cant git up! Youhll make yoself sick!"

He ignored her. The door opened and Jimmy ran in.

"Its Brother Bonds, Pa!"

Bonds stood in the doorway with his head wrappe blood-stained bandages. His face twitched and his stared at something beyond the walls of the room, as th his attention had been riveted once and for always upon fixed spot.

"What happened, Brother?" asked Taylor.

Bond stared, dazed, with hunched and beaten should Then he sank to the floor, sobbing softly:

"They beat me! They beat mah chillun! They beat wife! They beat us all cause Ah tol em t git outta mah ho

Lawd, how long Yuh gonna let em treat us this way? long Yuh gonna let em make us suffer?"

May sobbed, Jimmy ran out of the room. Taylor ca him on the stairs.

"Don be a fool, boy! Yuh c mon back here, *now*!"

Jimmy flopped on the edge of a chair and mumble himself. The room was quiet save for the rustle of leaves that drifted in from the outside and the soun Bonds sobbing on the floor. As Taylor stood his own fering was drowned in a sense of widening horror. Th was in his mind a vivid picture of all the little dingy where black men and women were crouched, afraid to out of doors. Bonds stopped crying and looked at Tay again that sense of shame spread over Taylor, inside out. It stirred him to speech.

"Who else they beat, Brother?"

"Seem like everbody, Reveren! Them two Commoon got beat something terrible n they put em in jail. heard they kilt one black man whut tried t fight back. ketched everbody they kin on the streets a lettin em it. They ridin up n down in cars. . . ."

Jimmy cursed. The doorbell pealed again.

"Git me a shirt, May!"

"Dan, yuh ain able t do nothin!"

The doorbell pealed again, then again. Taylor starte

ward the dresser; but May got there before he did and gave him a shirt.

"Dah, be careful!"

"C mon downstairs, Brother Bonds. N yuh, too, Jimmy," said Taylor.

*XIII*

The church's waiting room was full. Black men and women sat and stood, saying nothing, waiting. Arms were in slings; necks were wrapped in white cloth; legs were bound in blood-stained rags.

"LOOK AT WHUT YUH DONE DONE!" a voice bawled.

It was Deacon Smith. Taylor's eyes went from face to face; he knew them all. Every Sunday they sat in the pews of his church, praying, singing, and trusting the God he gave them. The mute eyes and silent lips pinned him to a fiery spot of loneliness. He wanted to protest that loneliness, wanted to break it down; but he did not know how. No parables sprang to his lips now to give form and meaning to his words; alone and naked, he stood ashamed. Jimmy came through the door and placed his hand on his shoulder.

"Its daylight, Pa. The folks is gatherin in the playground! theys waitin fer yuh...."

Taylor went into the yard with the crowd at his heels. It was broad daylight and the sun shone. The men in their overalls and the women with children stood about him on all sides, silent. A fat black woman elbowed her way in and faced him.

"Waal, Reveren, we done got beat up. Now, is we gonna march?"

"Yuh wanna march?" asked Taylor.

"It don make no difference wid me," she said. "Them white folks cant do no mo than theys awready done."

The crowd chimed in.

"N Gawd knows they cant!"

"Ahll go ef the nex one goes!"

"Ah gotta die sometime, so Ah jus as waal die now!"

"They cant kill us but once!"

"Ahm tired anyhow! Ah don care!"

"The white folks says theys gonna meet us at the park!"

Taylor turned to Jimmy.

"Son, git yo boys together n tell em t roun up everbody!"

"Yessuh!"

May was pulling at his sleeve.

"Dan, yuh *cant* do this...."

Deacon Smith pushed his way in and faced him.

"Yuhll never set foot in a church ergin ef yuh lead them po black folks downtown t be killed!"

The crowd surged.

"Ain nobody leadin us nowhere!"

"We goin ourselves!"

"Is we gonna march, Reveren?"

"Yeah; soon as the crowd gits together," said Taylor.

"Ain nobody t blame but yuh ef yuh carry em t their *death*!" warned Deacon Smith.

"How come yuh don shut yo old big mouth n let the Reveren talk?" asked the fat woman.

"Sistah, Ah got as much right t speak as yuh!"

"Waal, don speak to me, yuh hear!"

"Somebody has t say something when ain *nobody* got no sense!"

"Man, don yuh tell me Ah ain got no sense!"

"Yuh sho don ack like it!"

"Ah got as much sense as yuh got!"

"How come yuh don use it?"

The fat sister slapped Deacon Smith straight across his face. Taylor ran between them and pried them apart. The crowd surged and screamed.

"Ef he touches Sistah Henry ergin Ahll kill im!"

"He ain got no bisness talkin tha way t a woman!"

Taylor dragged the fat woman toward the gate. The crowd followed, yelling. He stopped and faced them. They circled around, tightly, asking questions. May had hold of his sleeve. Jimmy came to him.

"Pa, theys comin—"

Taylor turned and walked across the yard with the crowd following. He took two planks and laid them upon the ends of two saw-horses and made a solid platform. He climbed up and stood in the quiet sunshine. He did not know exactly what it was he wanted to say, but whatever it was he would say it when they were quiet. He felt neither fear nor joy, just an humble confidence in himself, as though he were standing before his mirror in his room. Then he was conscious that they were quiet; he took one swift look over their heads, heads that stretched away to the street and beyond, a solid block of black, silent faces; then he looked down, not to the dust, but just a slight lowering of eyes, as though he were no longer looking at them, but at something within himself.

"Sistahs n Brothers, they tell me the Deacon Boards done voted me outta the church. Ef thas awright wid yuh, it awright wid me. The white folks says Ahma bad nigger n they don wanna have nothin else t do wid me. N thas awright, too. But theres one thing Ah wanna say. Ah knows how yuh feel erbout being hongry. N how yuh feel is no different from how Ah feel. Yuh been waiting a week fer me t say whut yuh ought t do. Yuh been wonderin how come Ah didnt tell yuh whut yuh oughta do. Waal...."

He paused and looked over the silent crowd; then again his eyes, his gaze, went inward.

"Sistahs n Brothers, the reason Ah didnt say nothin is cause Ah didnt know *whut* t say. N the only reason Ahm speaking now is cause Ah *do* know. Ah know whut t do...."

He paused again, swallowing. The same feeling which had gripped him so hard last night when he had been talking to Jimmy seized him. He opened his mouth to continue; his lips moved several times before words came; and when they did come they fell with a light and hoarse whisper.

"Sistahs n Brothers, las night the white folks took me out t the woods. They took me out cause Ah tol em yuh wuz hongry. They ast me t tell yuh not t march, n Ah tol em Ah wouldnt. Then they beat me. They tied me t a tree n beat me till Ah couldnt feel no mo. They beat me cause Ah wouldnt tell yuh not t ast fer bread. They said yuhd blieve everthing Ah said. All the time they wuz hepin me, all the time they been givin me favors, they wuz doin it sos *they* could tell *me* to tell *yuh* how t ack! Sistahs n Brothers, as Gawds mah judge, Ah thought Ah wuz doin right when Ah did that. Ah thought Ah wuz doin right when Ah told yuh to do the things they said. N cause Ah wouldnt do it this time, they tied me t a tree n beat me till mah blood run...."

Mist covered his eyes. He heard the crowd murmuring; but he did not care if they were murmuring for or against him; he wanted to finish, to say what he had been trying so hard to say for many long hours.

"Sistahs n Brothers, they whipped me n made me take the name of *Gawd* in vain! They made me say mah prayers n beat me n laughed—They beat me till Ah couldnt membah nothin! All last night Ah wuz lying stretched out on the ground wid mah back burning.... All this mawning before day Ah wuz limpin thu white folks streets. Sistahs n Brothers, Ah *know* now! Ah done seen the *sign!* Wes gotta git together. Ah know whut yo life is! Ah done felt it! Its *fire!* Its like the fire that burned me las night! Its sufferin! Its hell! Ah cant bear this fire erlone! Ah know now whut to do! Wes gotta git close t one ernother! Gawds done spoke! Gawds done sent His sign. Now its fer us to ack...."

The crowd started yelling:

"Well go ef yuh go!"

"Wes ready!"

"The white folks says theyll meet us at the park!"

The flat black woman started singing:

*"So the sign of the fire by night*
*N the sign of the cloud by day*
*A-hoverin oer*
*Jus befo*
*As we journey on our way...."*

Taylor got down. He moved with the crowd slowly toward the street. May went with him, looking, wondering, saying nothing. Jimmy was at his side. They sang as they marched. More joined along the way. When they reached the park that separated the white district from the black, the poor whites were waiting. Taylor trembled when he saw them join, swelling the mass that moved toward the town. He looked ahead and saw black and white marching; he looked behind and saw black and white marching. And still they sang:

*"So the sign of the fire by night...."*

They turned into the street that led to town.

*"N the sign of the cloud by day...."*

Taylor saw blue-coated policemen standing along the curb.

*"A-hoverin oer...."*

Taylor felt himself moving between the silent lines of blue-coated white men, moving with a sea of placards and banners, moving under the sun like a pregnant cloud. He said to himself, They ain gonna bother us! They bettah not bother us....

*"Jus befo...."*

Across a valley, in front of him, he could see the buildings of the town sprawled on a hill.

*"As we journey on our way...."*

They were tramping on pavement now. And the blue-coated men stood still and silent. Taylor saw Deacon Smith standing on the curb, and Smith's face merged with the faces of the others, meaningless, lost. Ahead was the City Hall, white and clean in the sunshine. The autos stopped at the street corners while the crowd passed; and as they entered the downtown section people massed quietly on the sidewalks. Then the crowd began to slow, barely moving. Taylor looked ahead and wondered what was about to happen; he wondered without fear; as though whatever would or could happen could not hurt this many-limbed, many-legged, many-handed crowd that was he. He felt May clinging to his sleeve. Jimmy was peering ahead. A policeman came running up to him.

"You Taylor?"

"Yussuh," he said, quietly, his gaze straight and steady.

"The mayors down front; he wants to see you!"

"Tell im Ahm back here," said Taylor.

"But he wants to see the leader up front!"

"Tell im Ahm back here," said Taylor again.

The man hesitated, then left; they waited, quiet, still. Then the crowd parted. Taylor saw Mayor Bolton hurrying toward him, his face beet-red.

"Dan, tell your people not to make any trouble! We dont want any trouble, Dan...."

"There ain gonna be no trouble, yo Honah!"

"Well, tell them they can get food if they go back home, peacefully...."

"Yuh tell em, yo Honah!"

They looked at each other for a moment. Then the mayor turned and walked back. Taylor saw him mount the rear seat of an auto and lift his trembling hands high above the crowd, asking for silence, his face a pasty white.

A baptism of clean joy swept over Taylor. He kept his eyes on the sea of black and white faces. The song swelled louder and vibrated through him. This is the way! he thought. Gawd ain no lie! His eyes grew wet with tears, blurring his vision: the sky trembled; the buildings wavered as if about to topple; and the earth shook.... He mumbled out loud, exultingly:

*"Freedom belongs t the strong!"*

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# CHALLENGE

*The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper*

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## A Week of Struggle

**SUGAR STRIKE**

BROOKLYN, March 1—Over 2,000 workers are now on strike against Domino Sugar Corp. Domino makes 20 percent of the nation's sugar. The strikers are fighting against the sugar refineries' demand for a wage freeze. In support of striking workers at the Chalmette, Louisiana plant, Brooklyn workers struck after negotiations broke down over health and safety conditions.

**STEEL**

GARY, Indiana, March 1—[illegible] practice to poster for union elections and other events concerning the steel workers, Inland bosses who just last week murdered three steel workers, went berserk when they saw that workers will see and respond to communist ideas.

The cops started fights, slugged a pregnant woman and arrested a daughter of an immigrant worker with her 22-month-old son, then set bail at $14,000.

1937 saw the last communist march in the streets of Gary, E. Chicago, and Hammond. Fear of another one in 1976, brought the attack. We in the PLP are determined to see that the red flags of workers' power and of death to capitalism, shine brightly on May 1st, in this steel town.

**MORE STRIKES IN SPAIN**

MADRID—The eight-week strike wave here increased last week after more than 100,000 trucks were paralized by striking truck-drivers. 700 tires of scab trucks were cut-up by the strikers. Thousands of construction workers didn't pay any attention to the government "agreement" to stop the strike and demonstrated in Barcelona, setting up barricades and battling the cops. One worker was killed in the town of Elna after thousands of strikers battled the cops there. Juan Carlos' kingdom has not gotten one minute of peace from the working class since it [illegible]

## Mexico:

# Autoworkers Take Offensive

## Phila., N.Y.C.

## Workers, Students Fight Racist Cuts

**PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 26**—3,000 black, white and latin city workers marched from Philadelphia General Hospital to City Hall to give notice that they were going to fight Mayor Rizzo's plan to close the only city hospital.

500 sanitation workers, who have staged several wildcat strikes during the week, were among the biggest block of workers in the rally called by labor, religious and civil rights groups. Rizzo says the city would save $12 million dollars by closing it, never mind the thousands of workers' lives that would be lost thru the reduced medical care. Racist Mayor Rizzo will be made to pay for Bicentennial folly at workers' expense, when thousands join the Progressive Labor Party for socialism here on May 1st.